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To understand the effect of the union contract upon the leadership behavior of the urban principal, teacher-principal relationships in New York City were examined via observational and survey techniques. Gouldner's model of types of rule administration served as the impetus for the following central hypotheses: (1) Mock rule administration would develop positive sentiment and no tension, (2) representative rule administration would develop little tension but considerable positive sentiment, and (3) punishment centered rule administration would result in high tension and hostility. Observational data, gathered from two groups of NYC schools exhibiting two distinct leadership styles, was supportive of these hypotheses. Results of a questionnaire distributed to a random sample of teachers and principals in the Urban District, indicate that principals perceive the union contract as restricting their exercise of leadership t a much greater degree than do the teachers. This research, and recommendations stemming from it, should allow a principal to determine the type of rule administration that will result in the most efficient and desirable relationship between himself and the teacher. (JH)

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THE UNION CONTRACT AND PRINCIPAL LEADERSHIP IN NEW YORK CITY SCHOOLS

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It is obvious that a study in an area as sensitive as teacher-principal relations under a union contract could not have been conducted without the cooperation of many individuals and organizations. The principal investigators are deeply grateful for the encouragement and help of the many individuals who cooperated with them to make this study a reality. All cannot be individually mentioned here but their omission from specific mention in no way detracts from the obligation and appreciation due them. Specific mention of some individuals must be made, however.

The author is indebted to Professor Laurence Iannaccone, visiting professor at Harvard University, and Associate Professor Harold J. Robbins, Queens College, who were members of the research team and who made significant contributions to this monograph.

The Center for Urban Education through their funding, encouragement, and helpful suggestions, assisted in the project development. Dr. Nathan Brown, assistant director of the Center at the time of the study, deserves particular mention. It was he who worked to establish funding and many of the relationships necessary for conducting the study

The New York City School District, under the direction of Superintendent Bernard Donovan, granted permission to conduct the study. The research team is particularly indebted to Miss Ida Klaus, Director of Personnel Relations, who provided invaluable assistance and guidance to the study. She and her staff were very

cooperative, and without their help, the study would not have been carried out.

The United Federation of Teachers opened its doors to the research team. Each member of the Union whom we approached gave us complete cooperation. Mr. Albert Shanker, President of the United Federation of Teachers, was largely responsible for this cooperation and gave generously of his own time in assisting the research team. Without the cooperation of Mr. Shanker and his staff, the research would not have been possible.

Thirty-six principals cooperated for the final selection of the six schools included in the field study. Perhaps our greatest debt is owed to the principals of these six schools and their teaching staffs. Here was the heart of the research study. To admit an outside observer into a school knowing that he is there to observe how you administer takes courage on the part of any administrator. In addition, considerable patience and understanding was needed by both administrator and staff while they had the research observer in their midst. The principals and staffs of all six schools were very cooperative, and the research team is grateful to them.

Finally, the Council of Supervisory Associations, through the efforts of one of their members, understood the need for the research and did not discourage their members from participating.

In conclusion, the research team is grateful for the guidance it received from its advisory team composed of the following members: Dr. Nathan Brown, Miss Ida Klaus, Mr. Albert Shanker, Mr. Joseph

Brennan, and Dr. Joseph Azzarelli. This group spent many hours working with the research team and provided many helpful suggestions.

To these individuals and groups the research team acknowledges its indebtedness and wishes to express its gratitude.

CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH DESIGN AND PURPOSE

The purpose of the research was to discover what relationships might exist between a principal's administration of rules and the kind of leadership behavior he exhibits in his school. More specifically, the team was interested in discovering how, if at all, the union contract in New York City affects principals' leadership behavior relative to their teaching staffs.

This research report is not evaluative. It does not attempt to make judgments about "good" and "bad" leadership behavior, nor does it attempt to state what relationships should exist between principals and the teachers. However, it does attempt to determine whether or not the way in which a particular rule is administered results in certain types of relationships between principals and teachers. For instance, do principals who tend to administer the rules of the board as inflexible requirements (infraction of which always results in some formally mandated punishment) also establish hostile relationships with teachers and thus have a high grievance initiation from their staffs? It is clear that, while pleasant working relationships may be enjoyable for the employees of an organization, such relationships are not the major goal of the organization. The school's major task is to educate competent and productive citizens for our society. It is possible that staff relationships which are something less than warm and friendly may produce the most efficient learning results in the classrooms.

This research cannot instruct a principal how to operate his school most effectively in terms of its educational goals. The research can, however, elucidate the ways in which certain leadership behaviors and administrative relationships are related both to board policies and to the union contract.

This research report is descriptive rather than evaluative. It neither praises nor condemns the kinds of behaviors observed.

The Need for the Study

Traditionally, principals have been perceived as the educational leaders of their schools. They have been expected to provide leadership for curriculum change, improvement of teaching in the classroom, selection of materials, community participation, and a host of other educational activities. However, as teacher organizations, associations, and unions gain power (and as written contracts formalize responsibilities and relationships), principals will experience an increasing number of limitations upon their decision-making and leadership powers. As Dr. Bernard Donovan, Superintendent of Schools of New York City, noted:

> The stress will largely be on administrators, because when you have an able group of teachers talking to you on a new level of authority you very often feel your control slipping. It is difficult to yield a little authority. It is just as difficult for the administrator as it is for the teacher in the classroom.[1]

A recent text discusses the changing role of principals in relation to their traditional role as educational leaders and final arbiters of problems that occur in their schools:

> However of late, it has become not uncommon for building principals to think of themselves as the odd man out. This is especially true of elementary school administrators who never enjoyed the traditionally close working relationship found between secondary school principals and their chief administrators. (In urban schools with large numbers of high schools it is likely that even secondary school principals did not feel this relationship.) This "left-out feeling" has been attributed to the increase specialization and centralization of functions that have occurred during the past decades as school districts have grown in size and as procedures have been formalized.[2]

The authors continue:

> Finally, the formalization of the teacher-principal relationship through written board policies, administrative procedures, and with increasing frequency, written contract, has been perceived by some as placing limits on the building administrator's function.[3]

The responses of school principals to these new limits may play a major role in determining whether or not they will be able to continue to function as educational leaders in the schools of a large urban center.

Some school administrators think that educational associations, as contrasted with teacher unions, will provide more flexibility for administrators, particularly principals, with regard to the options they will be able to exercise in leadership behavior. It is not likely that this will prove to be the case. The United Federation of Teachers reports in its February 1966 issue of The American Teacher that the union has gained the bargaining right in such major urban centers as New York, Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Boston. In large urban centers at least, unions seem to be gaining power. Clearly the problem for the principal is becoming more acutely focused.

If these things be true, how then may the urban principal exercise leadership in the educational setting of his school? It is to this question that the current research project addresses itself. The operating thesis for the research project was that patterns of the principal's behavior can and do have an effect upon the leadership climates of the school. Specifically, it is contended that in schools where teachers have a high degree of hostility toward the administration of that school and exhibit this hostility in terms of negative sentiment and grievances, it will be less possible for the principal to exercise his leadership prerogatives. Stated in another way, principals who by their behavioral patterns can transmit to teachers a friendly and cooperative climate, one devoid of hostility and grievance, can also provide more educational leadership for their staffs. Upon this premise, Alvin Gouldner's bureaucratic rule model, outlined in Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy, was used to develop a model which could predict operating leadership climate in schools based upon the manner in which the principal administers the rules of the school. This model will be discussed more fully in another section of this report.

It is the purpose of this research to describe the types of behavior exhibited by principals in selected urban schools relative to their administration of the roles, and to describe the kinds of sentiments expressed by teachers based upon that behavior. It is hoped that this description, and the Gouldner model which will be tested by these data, will provide a broader base of understanding of principal leadership behavior in urban schools operating under union contracts.

The Gouldner Model

A model is an isomorphism. It is a working miniature of something. A theoretical model is an abstracted working miniature of a theory which operates so that the relationships between its elements as well as the elements themselves are the same as in the original theory. It is designed to explain a troublesome reality. But the model is expected to describe a different phenomenon. It is in this sense that the theory developed by Gouldner to account for employee-management behavior in the industrial setting was used as a model to examine teacher-principal behavior in an urban center.[4]

The philosophy, techniques and management theory developed in industry have often been applied to education. Occasionally educators have rushed to accept a technique (which sometimes has been based upon theory) as though it were the panacea for all the ills of public education. The press for scientific management (Taylorism) was one such tendency which resulted in the era of the "Cult of Efficiency," described by Callahan.[5] Public educators and administrators paid a dear price for their misapplication of this doctrine. On the other hand, the wholesale practice of "democratic human relations" -- a term coopted from industry -- was adopted in the public schools in the late forties, and is even today one of the tenets of public school administration.

Many educators, remembering only those techniques that have been unsuccessfully applied to education, decry any attempt to apply to education either the theories or the techniques developed in industry. Such an attitude is as short-sighted as the attitude which unquestioningly adopted the theories scientific management gave to educational administration. Some of the resistance to educational innovations such as computerized instruction and programmed budgeting stems from the anti-industrial-model club. The following guide has been offered in an attempt to determine what industrial theory might be applied beneficially to educational problems:

> When the hypotheses and theory related to the industrial organization are based on general social science theory and the concepts are descriptive of global human organizational behavior rather than specific behavior, then the theory can be conceptualized in terms of the educational enterprise, thus providing reasonable and useful predictors for educational administration and organization.[6]

Gouldner's theory of bureaucratic rule administration appears to be such a theory, and as such was chosen as the theoretical foundation for this study.

Based on his study of an industrial situation, Gouldner indicated that there are three kinds of rule administration: mock, representative, and punishment-centered. Mock rules are neither enforced nor obeyed by management or workers. There is joint violation of the rule, and the sentiments of management and workers does not arise, and, in fact, positive sentiment is generated. Representative rules are enforced by management and obeyed by workers. (They may also be enforced by the union and obeyed by management.) There is joint participation and initiative in rule formulation. Such rules are supported by the sentiment patterns of both management and workers, generate little overt conflict, at least at the group level. Punishment-centered rules are enforced by either management or the union; the rule-regulated group attempts to avoid such enforcement. The rule is supported by the sentiments of only one group and its enforcement is dependent upon the possibility of punishment being levied. As a result, the rule generates a great deal of hostility and conflict between management and workers.

Such a theory of bureaucratic rule administration might serve as a model that could explain the leadership climate in urban schools operating under teacher-union contracts. Recognizing that all three types of behavior would probably be exhibited in any one school at some particular time, the following hypotheses were developed:

1. in schools with comparatively strong mock and representative patterns of rule administration, the principal leadership climate will be such as to score high on the Executive Professional Leadership questionnaire;

2. in schools with comparatively strong punishment-centered patterns of rule administration, the principal leadership climate will be such as to score low on the Executive Provessional Leadership questionnaire;

3. gripes, complaints, hostility and grievances observed in schools will be related to the nature of the rule administration, with punishment-centered rules ranking first in relation to such behavior, representative second, and mock last.

These global hypotheses served as the guiding statement for this study. The statement would be tested against the data to see whether the data thus could be better organized and explained. "If not, then why not?" would be a second and equally important question.

Method of Study

The study is separated into two parts: the field study, and the questionnaire study. They shall be discussed in that order.

Selection of the Sample

Two groups of schools, each group having a different leadership style, were nominated by the research team on the basis of personal knowledge of the principal, considerable knowledge of the entire principal group, and knowledge and insight into the school grievance situation on a system-wide basis. Each of these groups contained six elementary schools, six junior high schools, and six high schools (eighteen schools in each group). There were designated Group A and Group B.

The principals of each of the 36 nominated schools were contacted by telephone. Later they were contacted personally and the nature of the study was described, without disclosing the hypotheses. The principals were shown the Executive Professional Leadership Questionnaire (EPL) developed by Gross and asked if they would permit their staffs to respond to the instrument.[7] They were also asked if they would be willing to cooperate in a four-week field study in their building if their school was selected. All but two principals agreed to participate in the study.

Questionnaires were left with the principals for distribution to their teachers. Some confusion as to the mechanics of distribution and collection elicited telephone calls from union representatives and individual teachers. In any case, where the research staff felt the procedures had been violated and the data consequently biased, the school was eliminated from further study. Some of the 34 schools either failed to respond or the research staff failed to receive their return. After several calls, these schools also were dropped from the study. A mean EPL score was calculated both for each school and for the group as a whole. Standard deviations from the group mean were then calculated for each school. Schools whose mean EPL scores were one-and-a-half standard deviations apart and whose scores matched their nomination category -- that is, schools with both high EPL scores and a Group A nomination or both EPL scores and a Group B nomination -- were then identified. From this group, pairs of schools, one having a high EPL score and a Group A nomination, and one having a low EPL score and a Group B nomination, were selected at each level -- elementary, junior high, and high school. This gave us six schools, two schools representing different leadership styles at each of the three levels.[8]

It is interesting to note that the elementary schools (as a group) were much higher on the EPL than were the high schools, and the high schools (as a group) were slightly higher than the junior high schools. This raises questions about the EPL as an effective instrument for measuring the leadership across school levels. At least from these data it appears that schools should not be compared across levels (elementary, junior high, senior high) by using the EPL.

The Field Observations

Six field observers were carefully trained in sociological field techniques during a four-week training and field experience. Many of these graduate students previously had course work in the use of the technique and all were trained in some behavioral science discipline. All had had experience teaching in public schools and many had had experience in the administration of public schools. These six field workers then conducted a four-week field study (simultaneously) in each of the six selected schools. One observer worked in each school. In addition, data were gathered over a six-month period by a participant principal and a participant teacher in two other schools in the district. The field data gathered by these methods were used to test the model.

The Questionnaire Study

In addition to the field study, questionnaire data were collected from the principals and teachers of the schools in the sample to help determine how teachers and principals thought that the union contract affected the leadership of the principal. It was felt that this additional information would give the data collected in the six schools greater meaning.

Three professors of educational administration helped develop the questionnaire; they were asked to write questions relating to ten areas of educational leadership, which would elicit responses about the effect of the union contract upon these areas. Some of the topic areas included were initiation of structure and consideration (the two consistent factors in leadership studies),[9] protection against outside influences, protection against administrative interference, securing needed materials and equipment, innovations, and utilizing accepted education standard. Each professor wrote 30 questions covering this range of topics. After a lapse of one month, each question was placed in a pile and drawn by lot. Then each was scrutinized to determine whether it fit some topic area. When two of the three professors could not agree, the question was discarded. A questionnaire of 59 questions resulted from the use of this technique. Two questionnaires were developed from these questions, one eliciting teachers' perceptions of the contract's effect on principals' behavior; and the other, the principals' perceptions of the contract's effect on their own behavior. These questionnaires were then administered to a group of 95 principals and 100 teachers in Philadelphia.[10] Using these data, a factor analysis was conducted. The final questionnaires appear in Appendix A and the factor loadings of both principals and teachers appear in Appendix B.

To the surprise of the researchers, only two factors emerged. (It will be remembered that questions were developed from ten topics.) One factor could be called the "principal's ability to operate," the other could be called the "principal's ability to allow teachers to operate." It may be noted that these two factors are not too unlike the factors of "initiation of structure" and "consideration" mentioned earlier. Only those questions which loaded .45 or above on a factor for both principals and teachers were admitted to the final questionnaires.

Again, two questionnaires were developed, both having the same question stimulus, one asking for teachers' perceptions of the effect of the contract on the principals' leadership and the other asking for the principals' perception of the effect of the contract on his own leadership. Thirty-six questions composed each questionnaire.

A sample of 5,000 (or approximately 10 per cent) of teachers was selected by random number from a then-current list of teachers supplied for the study by the Board of Education. Each of these teachers was sent a questionnaire packet containing a cover letter, a personal data sheet, an appropriate questionnaire (for teacher or principal), and a self-addressed, stamped, return envelope. Teacher packets were addressed by the teacher's name and school. Principal packets were addressed by name of school and school address. All questionnaires were then sorted by school and placed in a single envelope addressed to the principal with a cover letter explaining the study and asking him to place the teacher questionnaires in the correct school mailboxes and to respond to his own questionnaire. Both the Board and the union representatives on the research advisory committee had agreed that this would be the best distribution procedure. Letters and the personal data sheet included in the packets appear as Appendix C.

A second mailing of the same nature had been planned for three weeks after the first mailing. The Center for Urban Education asked that the research team forego this second mailing in order to decrease the immediate visibility of the study. While the research team would have been more satisfied (from a methodological standpoint) to carry out a second mailing, the return from the first mailing exceeded expectation and was considered to have provided a sufficient total number of respondents. The research team, therefore, acquiesed to the request of the funding agency.

About two thousand questionnaires were returned. These were scored and processed using analysis of variance techniques. Twelve one-way analyses were conducted based upon the data obtained on the personal data sheets. Relationships between and among other variables that were theoretically tenable were also tested. These data are reported in Chapter V.

CHAPTER II

THE SUPPORTING BUREAUCRACIES

Principals will be functioning in the framework of school board policies which they may have influenced only slightly, if at all, and under the restrictions of a union contract that was initiated by a union acting for teachers, not for principals.

Some people think that the contract was a reaction to the abuse of administrative power by principals, and they think that it is meant to provide limitations upon the use of such power. Others, including this author, although recognizing that occasional arbitrary and unilateral action by a principal may motivate the development of the contract, believe that even if only saints were principals the number of contracts written in urban districts would steadily increase. The study maintains that the contract resulted more from the need of urban teachers to operate from a power base, rather than from specific abuses of administrative power committed by principals. In such a view, the contract is an episode in the sociopolitical history of employee groups in urban centers. The nature of employee bureaucracies is more causally involved in the present union structure than are the cumulative irritations that may have been inflicted upon unsuspecting and unprotected teachers by what teachers may perceive as overbearing and all-powerful administrators.

On the other hand, administrators sometimes perceive the contract as a document negotiated by the school board and the teachers; each group negotiating for its own advantage without thought or regard for the duties, responsibilities, and prerogatives of principals. Such a contract bargains away the principal's rights while satisfying the negotiating parties, neither of which represents the principal. Principals in the district studied tend to view the contract in this manner. Whether or not a principal is correct, in holding this view is not germane, the fact that he feels this way will likely affect the way he administers the contract.

Troubled by the many problems of urban education (integration, below national-norm pupil achievement, and teacher shortages, to mention but a few), the principal is also confronted with grievances initiated by dissatisfied teachers. The principal does not face the grievance problems alone, however. The Board of Education maintains an Office of Staff Relations whose duties include the negotiation of employee contracts and the handling of the final phase of teacher-initiated grievances. In addition, the office has the task of assisting the principal in interpreting the contract and in dealing with grievances in their early stages.

The Office of Staff Relations

The office is located in the same building as the Superintendent and Deputy Superintendent's offices. It is administered by a director who is trained and experienced in labor law and negotiations. The major function of the office is to deal with the problems arising within the union-employer relationships (e.g., negotiating a contract and handling grievances initiated by the union).

The arrangement of the suite of offices is significant. One enters a reception office housing three secretaries. To the right of the entry is a doorway leading into a small office where four people work who serve as consultants to principals about matters related to the contract. Each desk has a telephone, and proximity, if nothing else, allows the people working in the office to confer about matters as they speak to principals who call. One other person is attached to the Office of Staff Relations, serving as a consultant for contract matters related to grievances or possible grievances. There is no room in this office for this person and as he generally advises department chairmen rather than principals, he is housed in a separate room, apart from the staff relations suite. To the left of the reception office is the office of the director of staff relations. This is a very large air-conditioned room which serves as the director's office and conference room. Here contract negotiations are held, as well as other conferences involving the director. The room provides space for the difficult and sometimes long and tedious negotiations; in addition, the view of the harbor affords occasional relief from tense contract negotiation situations. The director expressed this in approximately these words, "Every so often when I get tired of the wrangling that goes on around this table, I just get up and walk over to the window and look out over the harbor for about ten minutes. It restores my balance."

The office of the hearing officer is housed in the same building but in a different suite of offices than that of the director of staff relations. These two officers are both central to the functioning of the grievance machinery.

The Hearing of Grievances: Step Three

The district's grievance machinery calls for a three-step procedure. The first step calls for the aggrieved to present his grievance to his immediate superior. This could be a department chairman, but almost always it is the principal. The step-one meeting is held in the principal's office. The second step is before the next administrator in the hierarchy. Usually this is the assistant superintendent of the neighborhood district. When a grievance is not settled at stage two, a report of the grievance and the record of the step-one and two meetings are filed in the Office of Staff Relations. The director and staff of the office review the materials to be sure that the procedings mandated by the contract have been satisfied and note precedents already established in similar cases. The director then writes a memo about the case to the superintendent. (The memo actually is directed to the hearing officer.) The hearing officer then reviews the case, asks for additional data if needed, sets a date on his calendar (conferences are almost always held in mornings), and invites the individuals who are parties to the case.

Third-step hearings are held in the presence of the hearing officer, who acts for the superintendent. Officially the meetings are called conferences.[1] The aggrieved is present and is represented by the union. Usually the principal (and sometimes the assistant superintendent) is present. All matters of the grievance are received by the Staff Relations Office and sent to the hearing officer prior to the conference. When additional information is obtained by that officer, copies are sent to the union. If the grievance involves an alleged case of contract violation, it is possible for the case to go beyond step three to arbitration. If the grievance involves an alleged abuse on the part of an administrator, but no contract violation, it ends at stage three without appeal.

In the conference, the hearing officer takes an almost judicial role; he attempts to be dispassionate about the matter under consideration, in spite of the fact that he is the superintendent's representative and a former principal as well. An observer from the research team who spent considerable time with the hearing officer in stage-three conferences thinks that he plays this role honestly: "He is very careful to maintain a dispassionate attitude, both in conferences and discussions and in his write-ups of cases. I would see him as a tough man to manipulate, either by the union or by the school district." The observer goes on to note that on occasion, the hearing officer would raise his voice slightly in a conference or when speaking over the telephone. Since he is "usually so dispassionate," it had the effect of "blowing a whistle" and saying, "Look out, this guy is not going along with you." The observer ends his description of the hearing officer by stating, "...not only does he play the hearing officer judicial-type role very well during conferences and in his official, but he does it, to some extent, as a matter of course, as if it were part of his daily life.

The individuals invited to the conference assemble in the hearing officer's office, usually about 9:30 in the morning. Often, not everyone who is invited chooses to attend. The aggrieved is always present and the conference does not begin until the representative of the union appears. It was observed that occasionally the union representative did not appear at the appointed time, apparently because he had another appointment or because someone at the union office had failed to note the appointment or because he was busy in the field. Sometimes, although not frequently, the union had decided that a teacher was wrong and the teacher refused to drop the case. Under these circumstances, the union representative intentionally would fail to show up. Since it was not possible for the hearing officer to know of these circumstances in advance, it was his practice to call the union office on such occasions to ask if someone was on the way. If a union representative was coming, the assembled parties would wait. A new appointment would be scheduled if the union representative was unable to attend.

Occasionally the union pursues a grievance even after the particular teacher involved was satisfied. One such step-three conference was witnessed by our observer. The conference was scheduled for 9 A.M. The teacher, Miss Frank, was present, as was Mrs. Johnson, Miss Frank's department chairman, and the person representing the principal.[3] The hearing officer stated that they would wait for the union office representative, as the union wished to present the case for Miss Frank.

The case involved the duty assignment and rotation of teachers between the main building and the annex (nearly two miles away) of a large high school. The union contract specifies that rotation should be effected according to a stated policy. Everyone, including the principal, seemed to understand and accept that seniority was the sole criterion for duty assignment and rotation. There were a number of new and inexperienced teachers at the high school. The principal and the chairman felt that they should be assigned to the main building in order to afford more adequate supervision. In addition, they felt that teachers who agreed to handle certain special duties (the school newspaper and advisors to grades in the main building) should be assigned to the main building. Miss Frank had been assigned to the annex in spite of her high seniority. She had filed a grievance which was denied at step one. As far as she was concerned her grievance had been satisfied at step two.

When the hearing officer left the room to call the union representative, the following conversation occurred between Miss Frank and Mrs. Johnson, who seemed to be on very good terms in spite of "sitting on opposite sides of the table" during this meeting. Mrs. Johnson asked, "Is this the issue of posting rotations?" "I guess so," Miss Frank answered. "We have an agreement at step two," she continued. "Has the chapter requested this?", Mrs. Johnson asked. Miss Frank replied, "I don't know." Mrs. Johnson stated, "I asked the chapter chairman and he doesn't know. This is all very confused."[4]

The union representative arrived at 10:50 after several phone calls by the hearing officer and after a coffee recess. The general points of the case were reiterated: (1) the establishment of policy governing the movement of teachers to the annex on a seniority basis; (2) the transfer of Miss Frank for "unusual" reasons; (3) the apparent settlement of the grievance at step two; and (4) the principal's refusals to comply. The principal had been asked by the union to state in writing his reasons for exception. He stated that he felt that this would be "an invasion of privacy."

The hearing officer asked what redress the aggrieved sought. The union representative answered, "At step two we were concerned with redress---the point at step three is more in terms of arranging for a meaning of rotation than worrying about redress. What we had agreed to [at step two] was a resolution for the future that there would be, in writing, a statement of the meaning of rotation." Again the hearing officer asked, "What redress is being sought?" The union representative answered, "Look, she's only concerned that it doesn't happen again, either to her or to other teachers like her in the school." The teacher previously stated that she had received personal satisfaction at step two. She had not waived it. Although it was clear that Miss Frank was interested in new policy formation, she had not initiated the grievance for this purpose. She had not suggested the third step and she said that she had been satisfied at step two.

Everyone, including the principal's representative, agreed that seniority had been understood to be the basis for annex assignment.

However, all agreed that this was not the sole basis. The teacher and union representative concurred that other circumstances probably had to be considered. They did not even contest the principal's implementation of the present policy. However, they wanted the procedures stated in writing.

The conference continued. There was some discussion regarding the hearing officer's prerogative to rule on the issue if it were not a specific part of the contract. The union representative stated, "The aim of the conference is for both parties to come to agreement -- it is not a matter of adjudication." The hearing officer retorted, "I don't completely agree. I must adjudicate in such cases." But later, moved in this direction by the principal's representative, the hearing officer added, "We can't insist upon sticking to the letter of the law the way you want. This forces teachers into an action they don't want to take and it isn't good for the system." Speaking again of the principal's refusal to put a policy in writing, the union representative stated, "Of course the principal objected -- he's in a stronger position if he doesn't state the basis for exceptions. Then he says the exceptions can't be discussed because it's an invasion of privacy."

The hearing officer concluded the conference at about twelve noon, saying, "Well, I'm pleased we've been able to talk this one out at this length." He made no decision at this point, as was his usual procedure, nor did he hint at what might be his decision.

As was true in this case, conferences usually end near lunch time. After lunch, the hearing officer reviews the materials and

His written notes, and then writes his decision, which is presented in the form of a recommendation to the superintendent. The hearing officer's decisions actually usually are final, but the hearing officer said that he felt a responsibility to give a complete and unbiased picture of the grievance to the superintendent. He stated:

> It would be easy to misrepresent a situation [to the advantage of the administration] but this wouldn't be good. It seems to me to be necessary to take up the chief points made by the teacher and the teacher's representative, especially by the teacher's representative. Sometimes these may seem to me to be peripheral but fairness demands they be included. I hope I'm being fair. Most of the decisions I make are negative [denying the teacher's grievance], but after all, I hope when I give a reasoned analysis of the arguments offered, this will perhaps convince the aggrieved that he has no case. I'm probably not effective most of the time.

The conference ends with the written decision of the hearing officer. This decision is usually rendered the afternoon following the actual conference. No opinion is ever rendered during the morning conference exchange. The written opinion of the hearing officer is transmitted to all persons invited to the conference, whether or not they actually attended. In addition, the opinion is sent to the director of staff relations. These decisions periodically are summarized and placed in digests by the Staff Relations Office. Then they are sent to all principals in the district as guides.

When the aggrieved and the union are convinced that a case denied at the third step is, in fact, "a good case," they may take the case to arbitration. Arbitration is decided only on the basis of the contract as it is legally interpreted. The hearing officer is, of course, not concerned with these arbitration procedures. His work ends with his recommendation as it is sent on to the superintendent. Nor is he concerned with giving advice to principals. Procedure advice is handled by the four persons in the Staff Relations suite, and occasionally by a fifth person who is housed outside the office. "I would be placed in an equivocal role if I gave opinions to principals and then had to judge if the principal followed my advice," the hearing officer stated.

Despite the fact that he change from "hearings" to "conferences" seems to have been primarily nominal, the observer did note certain changes that had taken place. In conferences, the aggrieved is encouraged to state everything he thinks is relevant to the case. In this way the conferences have become more informal than the hearings were in the past. In addition, instead of having a stenographer take a verbatim transcript, as was the practice at the hearings, the hearing officer takes his own notes. While this places a greater burden upon him, it actually facilitated his final writing of the discussions, since it had taken several days before the notes of the stenographer were typed and returned to the officer in the previous method.

Nevertheless, it is the opinion of the observer that the hearing officer functions in the tradition of the old hearing in some respects. This is not a commendation for the hearing officer. The study team was impressed with his open-mindedness and dedication to fairness. It does seem that there is some difference of opinion about the manner in which the office should operate, however. It is our feeling that the director of the Office of Staff Relations which the hearing officer was officially structured would prefer a less legalistic hearing and more informal flexibility at the conference. This study team does not imply that the director would wish agreements made which were illegal under the contract. The hearing officer seemed to function in a judicial fashion. The judgment as to which of a variety of procedures would be more fruitful was not made there. In fact, this research team discussed the point and could not agree. In any case, it is not the purpose of this study to render judgment. The team wishes to point out that this difference exists in one of the supporting bureaucracies.

Consultation on Grievances: Steps One and Two

Step one involves the grievant and his immediate superior, usually his building principal. Different types of informal interactions take place in various schools before formal grievances are filed. However, the formal grievance begins with the filing procedure: the teacher informs the building union representative and a grievance is initiated. Usually the principal involved in the grievance calls the Office of Staff Relations to obtain advice prior to the meeting of the parties at step one. This, of course, does not imply that a principal may not call the Office of Staff Relations for advice at other times. Advice received by principals at other times probably helps them avoid the initiation of some grievances.

The four individuals who occupy the office to the right of the reception area in the Staff Relations suite handle such calls. Each of these four people has his own area of specialty. One handles the calls of elementary principals, another junior high, and another senior high principals. The fourth person in this office (who had not previously been a principal) deals with questions involving grievances of non-teaching personnel in the schools. Most requests for advice were made by telephone. On such occasions, the individuals in the office often exchanged information and opinions about the case. Each person handled about ten calls a day. Although each had his own advisement speciality, each occasionally handled matters in other areas. An analysis of a day's log kept by one advisor indicated six calls from principals, two from directors of sections and two from assistant superintendents of local attendance districts. The questions covered ranged considerably in scope and included some of the following: an interpretation of a "Staff Relations Abstract;" questions about preparation periods, sabbatical leave, sick leave, staff relations, lunch room duty and noon relief, and the length of the school day. Calls from assistant superintendents may have been related to step-two grievances. In any case, the calls to the office consisted mainly of principal questions.

The office does not tell principals how to behave. Rather, it tries to interpret the contract for the principal so that he can act in accordance with that interpretation. This is also the purpose of the printed digests produced by the office. Occasionally one of the advisors picks up a sample of behavior via the informal "grapevine" that he feels will cause a problem. In such a case, he tries to mitigate the situation before it reaches a critical point. One such situation was observed during the data-collection period. A particular principal used a certain contract term to refer to a group of teachers who were not of that class. The advisor felt this would result in a union demand that these teachers, who did not have certain rights which the contract granted to the others, be granted the same rights, if the term became standard. He called the principal and attempted to clarify the meaning of the term under the contract and the possible result of misuse of the term. Thus the advisement personnel operated in the hope that many grievances could be avoided or settled at step one if the principal understood the interpretation of the contract.

Step two offers another chance. The second step of the grievance procedure does not involve the Office of Staff Relations as directly as steps one and three. However, telephone calls about step-two grievances do come into the advisement section of the Office of Staff Relations. At the very least, it is the hope of the advisement staff of the office that grievances which are not settled by the principal or by the assistant principal will be solved by the district superintendent and will not have to be overthrown either by the third step or by arbitration because of contract misinterpretation. In this regard, they are largely successful.

In addition to the work described, the Office of Staff Relations conducts conferences in the field and at the local district level to help principals become familiar with the contract and to understand both the terms of the contract and the grievances related to it. In the Office of Staff Relations the principal is able to find support. While there are some principals who have earned the title of being "grievance prone," in general, the principal and and does find help at the Office of Staff Relations.

The Council of Supervisory Associations

Although not a part of this study, the supporting bureaucracies cannot be described without a brief mention of the Countil of Supervisory Associations (CSA). This group is a federation of supervisory organizations -- elementary, junior high, and high school. The CSA has been described by some of its members as speaking for principals (just as the union speaks for teachers).

The present research came under fire from certain principals because it had not received CSA endorsement. "You went to the Board and to the Union - why not CSA? Who OK'd it for the principals?" we were asked. The truth of the matter is that the researchers were simply uneducated in this respect; the CSA was not slighted intentionally. The research team had not explained the study to them, and the organization misinterpreted its intent. When the CSA felt that the study might hurt the position and goals of the principals, they took a stand intended to defend principals, and the research team respects them for that action.

The Union Office

If one were to enter the union office at 9 A.M., he might assume that nothing ever happened there. This is because it is necessary for many of the personnel to be in the field at this time. After 10 A.M. the union office comes alive with activity. Phone calls are received from teachers; meetings are begun; data regarding pending grievance actions are reviewed; consultations between advisors take place; and letters of appeal to decisions are written. After lunch, the number of staff personnel in the office increases again. Individuals who might have been at schools or participating in grievance conferences begin to return to their offices. By 3 P.M. the union headquarters becomes a beehive of activity. Phones are ringing and almost every teacher advisor is busy speaking to his constituency. This high-pitched activity continues until almost 6 P.M. From 3 to 6, little paper work can be completed. This is left for the morning and early afternoon hours. Union office staff are also occupied attending step-two and step-three grievance conferences; conducting classes for new grievance advisors; holding meetings with retired teachers; holding Delegate Assembly meetings; and conducting visitors, including deputy superintendents, through the union office.

While all of the activity at the union office is interesting to observe, this research is concerned only with those interactions that directly influence the principal-teacher relationship and thus the leadership behavior of principals. Major decisions that could affect the contract do play a part in this study. But the contract is important for this research only insofar as it affects the behavioral relationships existing between and among the teachers and principals during the period of study. The contract, therefore, will be considered a constant, and the negotiation of contracts will not be discussed here.

Grievances are immediate concern of the study; they continually affect teachers' perceptions of principals' leadership qualities. They are a part of the administration of the contract. Because of this, the research is concerned with the activities at the union office which center upon grievances, rather than upon other activities. Occasionally other activities will be mentioned, merely to highlight the functioning of the office.

The Advisors

Although an advisor may work with any union member who happens to call, often this is not what occurs. All advisors speak of the "democracy" of their operation (any employee may call, and whoever picks up the telephone handles the matter), but, in fact, all advisors know that special areas of consideration are handled only by certain advisors. These areas include problems concerning licensing; matters referent to the principals' ratings of teachers; and dealings with special classes of employees such as school psychologists, teachers of mentally retarded, school secretaries, and retired teachers. It was clear that (as was the case with the Office of Staff Relations) there were certain advisors who tended to specialize in specific categories of grievances and advisement. An advisor might request that a particular employee call again to speak with the person whose speciality was involved.

Grievances and the Grievance Process

The following is a list of grievances observed during the study:

1. A substitute teacher on special assignment to the central office had not received a salary increment since 1963. Although this was not an actual grievance (because substitutes were not covered by the contract), the union was processing the case material in an attempt to obtain a raise for the teacher.

2. A guidance teacher claimed that he was assigned to duties which were not properly a guidance function, and therefore his assignment was in violation of the contract. (This grievance was at step two.)

3. A teacher near retirement age had been injured in a school accident and was receiving only half-pay while on sabbatical sick leave. It was contended that she should receive full pay.

4. A librarian had received an unsatisfactory supervisory rating, and the contention indicated that the rating procedure as specified in the contract had not been followed. This grievance was lost at the third step, and the union was in the process of considering an appeal to the State Commissioner of Education.

5. A teacher claimed that he was placed too low upon the salary schedule.

6. A teacher complained about an overload of class assignments. A grievance was already in process which would decide this matter

7. A number of letters written by a principal criticizing a teacher had been placed in the personnel file of the teacher. These letters were not removed from the file even after explanation and corrections were made. The teacher wanted these letters to be removed from the file.

8. In another matter, this same teacher alleged that he was removed illegally from his coaching position.

9. A new teacher was assigned to a preferred class. This assignment allegedly ignored the seniority of another teacher. The senior teacher won the grievance at step two.

10. A teachers' room had been converted to an office for an assistant principal. At step three it was decided to return the room to teacher use.

11. A principal requested teachers to report for work at a time which extended the work day beyond the contractual limit.

12. Preparation periods were being lost because the principal could not obtain enough substitutes to cover the classes of teachers who were absent due to illness.

13. A junior high teacher claimed that he was assigned a disproportionate number of difficult classes. (This grievance was denied at step three.)

14. A teacher was dismissed, not having been given notice required by the contract. The principal claimed this was an emergency case (because the teacher allegedly had struck a boy). Such dismissal is considered legal under the contract. The teacher claimed he had acted in self-defense. The union claimed that no emergency existed due to the one-day time lapse before dismissal. The grievance was followed through step two, and the teacher was not reinstated. The teacher, not the union, threatened to take the matter to the courts.

15. A principal allegedly had not followed through with a step-two decision which had been decided against him. Records of grievances were kept in the teachers' personnel file without a record of the fact that the teacher had won the grievance. The step-two decision apparently had resolved the problem, but no further action was taken. A phone call from a union advisor to the principal was instrumental in obtaining a resolution without further action.

There were other grievances handled during the observation period which were not observed. There is no reason to suspect that the grievances reported were not representative of all those handled during the observation period. However, other types may exist at other times because of seasonal variation. Of the grievances noted, two involved groups of teachers, 12 were initiated by males and four by females, eight of these 16 were initiated by classroom teachers and eight by other licensed personnel (e.g., physical education and guidance).

All of the 16 grievances were in process, either being prepared for grievance filing or at step one, two, or three. Not all could be described fully in this report.

Following are some general comments about the grievance process, based on the data collected during the observation period and the data collected during the study by a participant teacher-observer in a junior high school of the urban district:

Problems that may become grievances are usually introduced to the administration at a scheduled meeting between the building chapter chairman and the building principal. Often a problem is resolved at that meeting or agreement is reached on how the problem will be solved.[5] When no agreement is reached at the meeting, the individual teacher or his chapter chairman calls the union office for advice.

When the union office is called, advice is given outlining the procedure for the teacher to follow. The advice does not always suggest the initiation of a grievance. Sometimes the caller is told to wait for the outcome of another similar grievance. At other times, he might be advised that the union would support him in whatever way that might be appropriate. Occasionally the union would take the position that there was no grievance indicated. Advice is given to the teacher to suggest how the problem might be resolved without initiation of a formal grievance.

When it appears that a grievance must be initiated, the union gives advice as to the proper procedures to follow. It is not unusual for the advice to include the suggestion that the teacher collect data pertinent to the documentation of the complaint. The advisor usually helps the teacher to write the grievance and occasionally he may represent him at step one. However, it is possible that only a chiarman will be present along with the teacher at a step-one hearing. The union advisor is always present at step two and step three, and he customarily takes the lead in representing the grievance at these levels.

More problems are solved at the regular chapter chairman-principal conference than ever come to the formal grievance hearings. This is a tribute to both the principals and the chapter chairmen involved. Occasionally an impasse is reached. When a true impasse is reached between a chapter chairman and a principal, it is unlikely that the formal grievance will be solved at step one, for it is the principal who is the arbiter at that step. If resolution is not obtained at step one, the union takes the grievance to the second step (the assistant superintendent level). Union representatives thought that, in general, few grievances were settled at step two. There was some change in this view, however, just prior to and during the observation period.

Some chapter chairmen, as well as some principals, are less capable than others at solving problems. Situations can arise where both the principal and the chairman agree that the initiation of a grievance may be the best procedure available in order to solve the problem. This could be called a "friendly grievance." It may even be requested by the administration. Our data note two cases where such a situation did occur.

The observation team was able to witness some grievances solved at step two. From the attitude of some union advisors, apparently this was a surprise victory for the union.

The step-three procedure is much the same as step two from the standpoint of the union function. In spite of the effort of the hearing officer to be impartial (the research observer thought he was successful), many union advisors thought that his decisions were biased. Sometimes, however, this type of reaction seemed to be the result of an advisor's personal dissatisfaction with a particular principal. The advisors' opinion of principals and school administration tends to be reinforced by constant contact with grievances against principals. The union recognized this problem and, believing that grievance advisors cannot function well if they exhibit too biased a perception, took action just after the research observation so that all grievance advisors would work part-time on problems other than grievances. Further action in this vein is now under consideration. It is important to note that such biases seem to result, for the most part, in constructive rather than destructive conflict, although occasionally, at the building level, personal conflict occurs between principals and chapter representatives.

Anti-Administration Sentiment

As indicated, considerable anti-administration sentiment was voiced by some of the union's grievance advisors. Such expressions as: "Hearings are generally kangaroo courts"; "It's an attack on the whole supervisory bureaucracy"; "The hearing officer slants these decisions"; "There's only one way to break this guy down (the Principal) -- keep after him"; and "The reason I'm here is because I hate principals"; were noted during observation, and confirm the existence of this bias. However, it should be noted that occasionally a step-two or three grievance is won by the union. Our data describe an assistant superintendent who made a step-two decision in favor of the union, informing the principal concerned that, "The union is here to dtay; you'll have to learn to live with them."

Nor does the union support every discontented teacher in his grievance. In one instance, the union refused to assist a teacher in getting a transfer, because the union advisor felt that the contract did not entitle him to the transfer. During a strong disagreement with the teacher, the union advisor stated emphatically, "We have a mutual agreement with the Board of Education, and it is our job to explain that to the teachers when the Board takes action in accordance with that agreement. Since your case does not come under the conditions under which the transfer can be granted in the middle of the year, you'll have to accept the decision of the Board of Education." In another case, a teacher frankly stated he wanted to use sick leave while teaching in another district. The advisor commented sarcastically, "I'm pretty sure the Board did not intend the sick leave to be an insurance policy." In still another situation, an advisor called an assistant superintendent to tell her that the union was dropping a grievance. "It's a case of bad faith, in effect," he stated, "we're not pursuing it." Upon terminating the conversation, the advisor told the observer: "We just don't take grievances that are made in bad faith." He went on to explain that the chapter chairman had made an agreement with the principal and then followed through with a grievance in spite of the agreement. "The chapter chairman had made an agreement, and he should have stuck to it," he added.

Perhaps the most expressive of such behavior on the part of a union advisor was observed when a teacher called to ask if she could be fired if she returned three days late from Christmas vacation. There was an implication that she might claim illegal sick leave. In apparent agner, the advisor said, "Wait a minute," and put the phone down. He walked away and did something else not concerned with the call. Returning five minutes later, he abruptly stated: "You'll have to come into the office for information," and hung up. He was hardly supportive of the intended behavior.[6]

This report would be remiss if it left the reader with the impression that the union is a "company union." It is far from that. The union feels a responsibility to the teaching profession, and most of the persons at the union office feel that the union is the best hope for urban education. This sentiment results in a dedication to improving urban education and a certain lack of sympathy for teachers who are, in the union view, unprofessional. While the union may be dedicated to education in the urban complex, this does not imply that they are particularly supportive of the administration in that district. In fact, this feeling of frustration with administration policy, coupled with the hope that urban education can be improved, may give rise to the strongest kind of unionism. Whether or not this is the case, the union does fight when it believes it is necessary. Many examples of such behavior were observed; the following are the most vivid.

In one grievance noted earlier, teachers complained that the lack of available substitutes was creating an intolerable situation. Teachers constantly were required to cover the classes of absent teachers, thus losing their preparation periods.[7] The administration agreed that the teachers were correct in wanting resolution of the situation, but claimed that they were helpless to effect a solution. The union established an "honor" picket line around the school. The picketing began at 8 A.M. and ended at 8:40 A.M., the time school began. Thus, teachers continued their teaching duties. The picketing was to be "escalated" over a period of time, until remedies were obtained. Members of the union office supported and participated in this demonstration.

Another case involved student discipline and suspension policies of the district, particularly at one junior high school. It was alleged that the administration was not supportive of teachers in difficult circumstances and that teachers were in physical danger under the present system. Eight teachers resigned in protest, and the Board accepted their resignations. These were followed by the majority of the junior high staff. The morning following the eight resignations, representatives from the junior high school met with the union president. Plans were made for full-page ads in all the major newspapers of the city. Plans were developed for a mass meeting of the total teaching staff of the district. Efforts were instigated to obtain promises of resignation from other teachers in the district in the event that a suitable resolution were not found. Teachers who had submitted resignations were assured by the union that they would not be penalized financially. The estimate of resignations (if a settlement should not be reached) numbered in the tens of thousands. All news media covered the situation, and the union supported completely the individuals who had tendered their resignations. Happily, the situation was resolved before it had reached a critical level. These two cases offer evidence that the union is supportive of its membership, and is not a "company union."

In spite of union effectiveness, and in spite of its increased power, some teachers are hesitant about filing grievances that the union thinks can be won. During the observation period, two cases were noted where the teachers definitely wanted relief of a situation but refused to file a grievance. In one situation, a teacher in a special school reported that the teachers in the school were receiving no preparation periods, and the principal had failed to act to rectify the matter. The union advisor suggested that the teacher file but the teacher said, "I called to find out what our position is, but I do not want to file a grievance." Later in the conversation, the advisor again urged, "I don't see why we don't go ahead and file a grievance." The teacher responded, "Is there any way of filing a grievance without my personally getting involved in it? Don't you have any other complaints to this effect?" The teacher finally hung up, saying she would "think about it some more."

In another situation, an advisor received an unsigned letter stating that the sender did not want to be involved, but alleging that a dollar had been collected from each teacher in his certain school to be used to send "other teachers" to conferences. Pressure was used to obtain collection, preparation periods were taken away, demonstration lessons were required more frequently, and permanent substitutes were reminded of their tenuous positions. The money collected was actually used to send the principal to a junior high conference.[8] Of course the union did not even attempt to follow up on this unsigned complaint. They did express the belief that the complaint was not so unusual as to be suspicious. They believed it to be true, and that the complainer simply had no "guts."

Twelve additional complaints, not at the grievance stage, were recorded. The employees were given advice, which often suggested that a grievance be filed sometime in the future. These 12 complaints follow.

1. A particular school had no procedure whereby a teacher could file a grievance.[9]
2. Parents were running the school and teachers had no support from the principal.
3. Transfer not approved (noted earlier).
4. Another request for transfer that the union did not believe could be approved.

5. Pressure at school and use of sick leave (mentioned earlier).
6. Not receiving the correct number of preparation periods.
7. Physical assault on a substitute teacher.
8. Principal harassment of a teacher on probation and the constant reminder of the teacher's status which carried a covert threat of her not being retained for the coming year.
9. Principal calling grade level conference in addition to monthly conference (union approved).
10. A principal had ordered the removal of a menorah which had been displayed beside a Christmas tree but allowed the Christmas tree to remain (a parent called, not a teacher).
11. A teacher desired pay for after school duties while serving on jury duty.
12. Lack of preparation periods in special schools.[10]

All of these complaints could have become grievances. The union resolved some of them before they did. Other problems would probably be solved by the individual chapter chairmen in conferences with the principals.

In addition, 13 other calls were observed which elicited advice about some particular situation and in which no complaints were filed. Many problems of a personal nature were brought to the union advisors.

1. A male teacher was being divorced by his wife, and he feared she would charge adultery. Could he be fired from his teaching position?
2. One member of a school's union committee called to complain that the newly elected member of the committee was unacceptable to the older members, including herself. What could they do?

3. A teacher cleared of charges of molesting a pupil wanted advice on how to get the records destroyed which had charged him with the act. In addition, he wanted to know to whom he might write to compliment his principal on the way he had handled the case.

4. Another teacher wanted to know how she could get the quality of the school lunches improved.

5. Charges of beating a pupil were made against a male teacher. The teacher denied it. How should he protect himself?

6. Can a teacher borrow $10,000 from her retirement fund and how will that affect the retirement fund?

7. A secretary called to ask if secretaries were to be paid for doing work on extracurricular activities such as plays, and newspapers.

8. A teacher called for advice about changing status from sabbatical sick leave (half-pay) to regular sick leave.

9. Advice was asked about how to acquire a teaching license.

10. Parking permits were, in the view of a teacher, not being equitably distributed by the principal. Could the union do anything about it?

11. In a particular school, the principal had refused to recognize the union consultation committee. What could the teacher do?[11]

12. Advice was sought about taking a denied step-three grievance to the courts. It was not a contract violation and, therefore, not suitable for arbitration. (The union suggested against going to court.)

13. A teacher was not happy about the appointment a principal had made, and wanted to know what could be done. As the principal had followed the proper procedure, the union said nothing could be done. To this, the teacher responded: "Chapter chairmen are not gods -- Reuther could not run General Motors." (The chapter chairman had received the appointment.)

Some of these requests show considerable lack of sophistication about union activities and functions on the part of teachers. In addition, teachers sometimes give the union about as much criticism as they give administration. Finally, some of the problems brought to the union are the kind of personal situations that would more appropriately be discussed with an attorney.

The union has established a Chapter Chairman's Handbook to guide its chairmen. The Office of Staff Relations has no guidebook for principals, but prefers to reach them through the meetings previously mentioned.

Summary of the Union Office

The union office is a very busy facility. Many of its activities were not described here because they are not relevant to the research problem. It is not a "company union" and its employees exhibit some degree of hostility toward management.[12] The union is not, however, a creation whose sole purpose is to plague administration. Occasionally, the union takes the brunt of a teacher's wrath by indicating that a principal acted as he should have according to the contract. As an institution, however, it is replacing the principal in some areas.

Summary of the Supporting Bureaucracies

Three supportive bureaucracies are involved in the conflicts that occur between teachers and principals. Supporting the teachers is the union office and a staff of advisors. The union seems to take the position that, if there is a contract, it is their job to support it, even if a particular teacher does not believe the action to be in his best interest. In this way, the union hopes to improve future contracts. On the other hand, although some principals apparently fail to recognize it, the Office of Staff Relations of the Board of Education is very sympathetic and supportive of the principals. In addition, and perhaps because of the principals' feeling of abandonment, the Council of Supervisory Associations is active in support of principals, and it is to this bureaucracy that the principals appear to give their greatest support.[13]

Although the teachers now have one supporting bureaucracy and the principals two, the teachers are not short-changed. The union appears to be usually on the offensive, and the administrative supporting bureaucracies seem to be reacting to situations stimulated by the union. This condition is probably partly due to the relative newness of the union as the teachers' bargaining agent. What is surprising is the maturity with which the supporting bureaucracies carry out their functions in the light of the recentness of their confrontation. Our data would indicate that where immaturity or pettiness exist, it is on the part of the individual, either teacher or principal, and not characteristic of the supporting bureaucracies.

CHAPTER III

THE FIELD OBSERVATIONS

Introduction

During a four-week visit to the schools, the field observers collected approximately 350 typed pages of data. The data collected were comprised of the observed behaviors of administrators, teachers, students, parents, secretaries, and other personnel. The technique employed by the field workers utilized the Homanian scheme of recording observable interactions, sentiments, and activities.[1] The data which emerged from the field study are descriptive and not inferential, interpretive, or judgmental. The sentiments expressed in the collected case material are those of the subjects, not the observers. The fact that the data are so rich is creditable to the administrators and teachers who so willingly and enthusiastically cooperated with the research study.

Since the data, in quantity and content, exceed the scope and purpose of this study, only selected portions relevant to the hypotheses posed in this study and representative of the administrative behavior in each of the six schools, are presented here.

Whereas field data of the sort collected in this study are usually presented in case form (a unitary theme centering around characters and incidents described within a background, setting, and time dimension), the material here is presented as separate vignettes. These "caselettes" will focus upon the application, interpretation, and use of specifically cited rules (collective bargaining contract, board policy, and administrative directives). The description of the community setting and the personal history and characteristics of the major actors (principals) has been minimized in order to better maintain the anonymity of the people. A standard procedure for coding names -- so that actual individuals cannot be identified -- is also employed.

The data are presented categorically, according to EPL scores and nomination category. The first section describes the behaviors observed in schools with high EPL scores and Group A nominations. This is followed by a description of the behaviors in those schools with low EPL scores and Group B nominations.

Group A:

Elementary School A-1

Background

P.S. A-1 is located in a blue collar, working class neighborhood at the outer edge of the city. Until ten years ago, the area could have been described as typical of the industrial fringe of most large urban centers. Housing was comprised of one- and two-family dwellings with clapboard or shingle exteriors. Scattered among the homes were pockets of industrial facilities. Generally the area could be characterized as a deteriorating neighborhood. Within the past decade, however, urban renewal programs have resulted in the construction of low-cost housing developments for six hundred families. Auxiliary service facilities such as food markets and retail stores have somewhat offset the unemployment caused by the loss of heavy industry, but the area is considered to be economically depressed.

A decade ago the pupil population of P.S. A-1 comprised 99 percent white pupils (predominantely of Italian descent). Today, the school enrollment consists of 5 percent Puerto Rican, 40 percent Negro, and 55 percent "other." This distribution has been relatively constant for the past eight years. The change is generally reflective of the changes that have taken place in the community; the ethnic distribution has changed while the socioeconomic class structure has remained basically the same. At the time of this writing, there were 1,100 pupils enrolled, of which 45 percent were recipients of free hot lunches.

Administration-Staff Relationships

The administration-teacher relationship was observed to be one of mutual trust and cooperation. The principal, Mr. Joe Longo, was held in high regard by the teaching staff. An indication of this feeling was expressed by one of the teachers, who said, "As a new teacher, I felt part of the faculty from the beginning. This was due to the friendly atmosphere in the school. This atmosphere cannot be created by teachers alone, but also by the wonderful administrative staff. Mr. Longo's enthusiasm vibrates throughout the school, as can be seen by the wonderful results of faculty harmony and cooperation." Another teacher remarked, "He is concerned with the entire staff, the personal, as well as the professional problems. Mr. Longo sets such high standards for himself that all the members of his staff recognize and attempt to emulate him. His attitude of quiet confidence in his teachers inspires all of us who are proud to be members of his faculty." Still another said, "He takes great pride and interest in his work. His door is always open and he is never too busy to help, even with the smallest problems...Mr. Longo is the best supervisor I have ever had." One of the assistant principals, who had earlier expressed pro-union sentiments, said, "There are few problems between the union and Mr. Longo. Teachers with a problem don't go to Mr. Debank [the chapter chairman]. They go first to Mr. Longo who usually can work things out." He mentioned that in the current year Mr. Debank had brought only two problems to Mr. Longo, one involving telephone facilities for teachers and the other concerning coffee facilities.

Rule Adaptation and Application

The Rule - Union Contract Article IV F 16 b. Pay telephone facilities will be made available for teachers for their reasonable use.

The Behavior. A pay telephone had not been installed because, according to the assistant principal, "We were not able to guarantee the telephone company a minimum number of calls, but that has been worked out now." He added, "We let the teachers use the phones in the office." The observer noted several instances of teachers' using telephones in the principal's office.

The Rule - Union Contract Article IV F 16 c. In schools where continuous cafeteria service for teachers is not available, a vending machine for beverages shall be installed at the request of the particular school staff.

The Behavior. The principal had been unable to guarantee a minimum profit to the vending machine company. He said that this was a problem throughout the city. "This particular problem does not affect the teachers," said the assistant principal. "The school has purchased four electric stoves which have been installed in the lounges and areas where the teachers have their coffee." He said that the teachers could have all the coffee they wanted for about fifty cents a month.

Although the chapter chairman brought problems to the attention of the principal in only two instances, the observer noted a number of additional cases of variance between items of the union contract and practices of teachers and administrators.

The Rule. The administrative procedure is for teachers to sign in at the main office at arrival time and sign out at departure time each day.

The Behavior. The observer noted that almost all the teachers who were signing in at 8:35 A.M. put down 8:30 A.M. in the "In" box of the timebook and 3 P.M. in the "Out" box. Teachers signed in and out in the mornings so that they would not have to return to the general office after they had dismissed their classes at the end of each day. When asked about those teachers who signed in late, the secretary responded, "We're good about that here. As long as the teacher comes in by the time the kids come up to the classrooms, we overlook it. Now if it happens all the time I'm sure Mr. Longo would talk to the teacher." On another occasion the observer noted that three teachers came in after 8:40 A.M. and signed in for 8:30 A.M. No one made any comment, even though two assistant principals were in the room. A similar incident occurred some weeks later. On another occasion, when one of the teachers said she had not signed in the day before, Mrs. Cahill, the acting assistant principal, said, "You often forget to sign in but I see you came in anyway. Don't worry about it."

One morning a teacher reported at 8:45 A.M. and was met by the principal, who commented, "What would we do if you came on time?" The teacher said nothing. He signed in for 8:40 and out for 3 P.M., and nothing more was said at that time.

The Rule - Union Contract Article IV A 3 c. During the 1966-67 school year, teachers will be relieved of the duty of scoring city-wide standardized achievement tests...

The Behavior. Mr. Longo, the principal, left his office in order to tour one or two of the floors of the building. He visited for a few minutes in each of the classrooms, praised the teachers and the pupils for their work, and inquired as to the progress of the reading of the students in the various classes. The teachers had hand-scored the reading exam (which the pupils had completed the previous week), despite the fact that the examinations were to have been scored by machine. Mr. Longo explained that the results of the machine-scored exams often came as late as six months after the exams were administered -- too late to help the teacher to place the children for the following school year.

The Rule - Union Contract Article IV F 14 d. A per diem substitute who is hired to cover the class of an absent teacher will assigned to teach such teachers' class. (Author's italics.)

The Behavior. Mrs. Cahill, the acting assistant principal, was absent. Mrs. Crawford, a teacher with 30 years' experience, was serving as acting assistant principal, a position she occupied whenever an assistant principal was absent. She said that a substitute teacher had been hired to cover her classes during that day and to relieve Mr. Spenson for one period. Mr. Spenson had not been given his preparation period the previous day because a music teacher had been absent, and the school could not obtain a substitute teacher with a speciality in music.

Mrs. Crawford added that Mr. Longo tried to make sure that teachers did not lose any preparation periods; a chart was maintained in the office to document the names of those teachers who had lost preparation periods. She further explained that per-diem substitutes were not given a preparation period but instead were used to relieve teachers who had lost preparation periods.

The Rule - Union Contract Article V C 2 b. The selection of OTP's will be made from among qualified applicants within the school. Where applicants within the school are equally qualified the selection will be made on the basis of seniority in the school.

The Behavior. Mrs. McConnell was the corrective reading teacher and the after-school tutor. The assistant principal said that Mrs. McConnell had the talent of maintaining interest in learning among pupils in very difficult learning situations and maintaining the interest of the class after 3 P.M. (when fatigue sets in, affecting both teachers and pupils). Although many teachers coveted Mrs. McConnell's position, Mr. Longo considered the teacher's personality and ability in preference to seniority.

The Rule - Union Contract Article V A 3 a. Duty-Free Lunch Period - Every elementary school teacher is to have a duty-free lunch period of 50 minutes.

The Rule. The number of faculty conferences is limited to one per month, which is not to exceed 40 minutes and should be scheduled for Monday afternoon (Matter of Libian Trynz, Step 3, 1967).

The Behavior. The principal indicated that many of his colleagues had between seven and 26 minutes of conference time during most staff meetings because teachers had arrived late, and the provisions of the contract prevented teachers from being held more than 40 minutes for a staff meeting. He commented on studies "that showed that teachers rated teacher conferences very low as for educational value." He said it was better to have the conference during school time: "after 3 o'clock many teachers in the school leave for an after school job with the Board of Education. Teachers are officially excused from the faculty conference if they hold such a job. Many of the women on the faculty have to return home to take care of children. They are tired. Serving coffee at the conference does not help very much." He said that he could not train teachers in 30 minutes. On another occasion, the principal said that the 40-minute limit for the conference did not concern him but that it did bother many of his colleagues. It was his opinion that the 40-minute conference was a waste of time because there were very few topics that could hold the interest of all the teachers. He said that he preferred to send a note to the teachers in regard to administrative matters. In this way he could outline the administrative problem and provide the teacher with the help needed.

The following is an account of a monthly faculty conference held between twelve noon and one P.M. in the library of P.S. A-1:

For the first 15 minutes the teachers ate their lunch. Coffee and buns were served. (The money for the coffee and buns came from a school fund derived from the sale of pictures.) Teachers discussed a variety of topics concerning their activities during the past weekend both in and out of school. At 1:15, Mr. Longo distributed copies of the "Poor Scholars Soliloquy" to the staff. He then spoke to the group of teachers for approximately five minutes. He discussed a variety of administrative matters, including fire drills. He talked of a recent fire which had completely destroyed an elementary school and reminded the teachers that they must be especially alert during the lunch periods and during the assembly periods. He announced that June 9 and 22 were to be clerical half-days. He discussed fourth-grade study skills, reminded teachers not to talk to parents without first having them obtain a pass from the office, and spoke about school programs on religious holidays. He said, "I am certain you will help by planning your tests, trips, and special events in such a way that no child may be deprived because they are absent on Holy Days."

After Mr. Longo completed his remarks, the assistant principal and the acting assistant principal demonstrated the use of new equipment which the school had recently received. After the demonstration, the teachers were encouraged to practice using the equipment. Many teachers did come forth for this purpose, others remained at their seats and continued to drink their coffee. After the conference, several teachers were asked their opinions about holding the faculty conference during their lunch period. "It's great," said one teacher. "Who wants to stay after three?" Another said, "Mr. Longo is great, the atmosphere is great, coffee, buns, all conferences should be on school time." Another teacher stated, "If anyone complains, Mr. Longo would have to hold the conference after three. The union requires that teachers be given a 50-minute duty-free lunch hour. If anyone complains, however, they would probably be ostracized by the entire staff." After the teachers departed, the administrators stayed behind to discuss their reactions to the conference. They said they knew that they were breaking the rule about the duty-free lunch period, but Mr. Longo added, "If anyone complained we would have to hold the conference after three. No one would want that, even the union members would object. You would be surprised at the things the union overlooks or would be willing to overlook." The acting assistant principal added, "Teachers like this procedure. They don't like to stay after three and we get to reach all the teachers this way. We would lose half of the staff because about that many of them have after school jobs with the Board of Education."

The Rule. Policies, Bylaws and Procedures governing a miscellany of items such as the use of Alcoholic Beverages on school property, the use of electric appliances in classrooms, and the use of federally subsidized food and beverages supplied for school lunch programs as outlined in the bylaws.

The Behavior. A farewell party was being held in the library for a teacher who had been granted maternity leave. The assistant principal said, "We are having a little party as we usually do on such occasions. We're having punch and cookies in the library, but watch the punch." At 12:20 the assistant principal asked the male teachers to join him in the library. Mr. Scampi asked whether he had to go. The assistant principal responded, "I can't force you, but it would be nice if all said goodbye to Jane." Mr. Scampi nodded and came along. In the library a punch bowl and several trays of cookies were on the librarian's desk. The teachers were helping themselves. The men and women sat apart. After ten minutes of informal chatter, the acting assistant principal read several administrative notices. Then the teacher guest was given a gift from the school. The assistant principal suggested that those teachers who were expecting a tough afternoon take a few more cups of punch. The assistant principal told the group to relax and enjoy themselves for the next ten or 15 minutes. Actually there were only three or four minutes left before the lunch hour would expire. A teacher said, "This is going to be the shortest 15 minutes on record." Three or four minutes later the bell sounded signaling the end of the meeting. The teachers returned to their classes and the administrators returned to their offices.

Mr. Scampi was instructing his fifth-grade class in an English lesson. There was a fan in the rear of the room. When asked if the Board of Education permitted fans in classrooms, the teacher responded, "No one ever said anything about it; anyway the outlet is right here."

The observer noted that teachers received free milk and ice cream in the lunchroom. When asked about this, one of the male teachers responded that he had always received free milk when he ate lunch in the lunchroom. He said, "Mr. Longo took care of it." The teacher also said that Mr. Longo often brought in the ice cream. He said, "The teachers appreciate that."

Junior High School A-2

Background

Junior High School A-2 was located in a middle class residential area of the city. The percentage of non-white students enrolled was quite low. The low attendance figures for students during the Jewish Holy Day (Passover) was one indication of the ethnic composition of the student body. The school had a high scholastic index and was known as a good school. The faculty thought that the school was a typical one.

One of the staff members thought that the school had been short-changed. They had just barely enough positions and people to fill them to run the program. She explained that the school had a checkered history; four administrations had previously worked with the faculty, and none of them had stayed long. Mr. Shayne, the principal, had been there for four years, she explained, and his tenure of office was the longest of any in a great many years. "We are very fortunate to have Mr. Shayne," she said. "The teacher morale is much better now, since Mr. Shayne has taken over and the parents are much more supportive of the school. He has done a good job of enlisting the understanding of the community."

Administration-Staff Relationships

A conversation during a lunch period illustrates the tone of administration-staff relationships. Mr. Noble, the acting assistant principal, and the other teachers were discussing general curriculum-administration problems. Many of the teachers' comments indicated their dissatisfaction with the system at large, but none seemed to focus directly upon the school administrators. During the course of this conversation, one teacher commented with a laugh, "Don't blame him, he only works here. It isn't his decision or even Mr. Shayne's."

The chapter chairman, Mr. Mallory, described his relationship with the principal. "We don't hold these monthly meetings in the school because we usually don't have an agenda. There had been only one meeting this year; it was held in September and was primarily a beginning-of-the-year organizational meeting." He stated that the school had had only one grievance in four years. This concerned class size and apparently was a test case sponsored mainly by the UFT officers. The case was of local interest and had the unofficial support of Mr. Shayne, the principal. Mr. Mallory stated, "Mr. Shayne is not anti-union. He believes in working with the union. He comes from union parents, too." Mr. Mallory indicated that he usually sent a flyer to the teachers prior to a faculty conference. The flyer would ask if there were any special concerns. He said that there were two problems presently concerning the teachers. One was concerned with the reason why some teachers had been assigned four classes in a row. The other problem involved the possibility of rotating classes among teachers. "Miss Comber has said that she will deal with these at the conference," he said. (Miss Comber was an acting assistant principal.)

"I talked to the teachers in the hall and asked if they had any problems. Mr. Shayne sees me informally, and asks if anything is bothering the teachers, anything that he should know about. Sometimes some things come up which are personal problems, not specifically covered by the contract. We sit down informally and try to settle it." Referring to Miss Comber, he said, "She is very good at scheduling. Two teachers work with her in scheduling." Mr. Mallory added, "We try to follow the letter and spirit of the contract." He indicated that the teachers understood the problems resulting from understaffing of the school, and that they had cooperated. Sometimes special conditions, such as the Stratford trip scheduled for the following day, would result in some extra work. Mr. Mallory had been asked to come in early to organize the departure of the students. He pointed out that the union-administration relationship at Junior High School A-2 was based on the principle of reciprocity.

Rule Adaptation and Application

The Rule. Smoking is forbidden except within rooms designated by the principal.

The Behavior. A meeting was held at which student teachers met with their supervisor from the university and the cooperating teachers from the English department. The administrators present were Mr. Nobel and Miss Comber. As the meeting got underway, Miss Comber offered a cigarette to those seated near her and indicated that an ashtray was on the desk. She said, "It's illegal, but we smoke anywhere we want to. We don't pay much attention to the rules in this school. Go right ahead if you want to." The meeting continued. Miss Comber, the English department chairman, Mr. Nobel, and several teachers and student teachers smoked during the meeting.

The Rule. The use of Alcoholic Beverages while on school property is forbidden.

The Behavior. At lunch the room was filled with teachers at various tables engaged in conversation. Mr. Shayne greeted teachers as they entered or left the room. As he rose to leave, he said to one of the teachers, "You're coming to the cocktail party, aren't you?" He then commented, "You can see how the ears perk up at the mention of cocktails." He laughed. Then he said, "2:15 in my office." Later than afternoon, several students and two teachers were busily converting the conference table in the principal's office into a buffet. A lace cloth was placed upon the table and various prepared dishes such as pretzels, potato chips, corn chips, and crackers were set upon it. A punch bowl was filled with fruit drinks.

The school treasurer, Mr. Burke, entered and asked Mr. Shayne to sign a check voucher. During this time, the students and the two teachers had continued their activities in preparation for the party. As Mr. Burke was about to leave, one of the teachers spoke to him quietly, and a moment later Mr. Burke picked up the punch bowl and carried it into Mr. Shayne's closet. The other teacher accompanied him. Both entered part way into the closed. Those present exchanged smiles and knowing glances. When the students had left, Mr. Burke and the teacher returned the bowl to the table. The bowl was considerably fuller than it had been. The teacher ladled some punch into paper cups and presented them to Mr. Shayne, Mr. Burke, and the other teachers. "Is it all right? Do we need more ginger ale? Is it too strong?" she asked of each. Mr. Shayne and others pronounced it just right, and two of the teachers left. Mr. Shayne explained that this was to be an informal reception to honor Mr. Cohen on his departure from the school to accept a new position. He explained that there would be a dinner later in the year at which Mr. Cohen would receive formal recognition, but that this party was an informal recognition by the staff. "We don't usually have parties in school except for Christmas parties in the library, but the social committee wanted to do something for Jack," he said. "We have to have it early so those teachers who go home at 2:15 can attend," he continued.

Shortly after 2:15 teachers began to arrive. Around 2:30 Mr. Cohen entered the office. He was greeted warmly by those present. Each teacher expressed regret at his leaving and he received gifts and tributes from students in various classes. (In the outer office were many other gifts which he had received from classes throughout the afternoon.) Emotions ran high in what appeared to be a genuine expression of affection. Mr. Cohen had moist eyes and his voice, on occasion, failed him.

As the party continued, small groups were formed and reformed as people joined or left. Mr. Shayne and Mr. Cohen made efforts to mix. Each spent time in various groups. Mr. Mallory, the UFT chapter chairman, had only praise for Mr. Cohen and indicated that he felt the school was losing a fine leader. He went on to praise all the school's administrators and indicated that the man who would replace Mr. Cohen also was of high caliber. Shortly thereafter the party ended at about four P.M.

Special Cooperation Incident. Two weeks later, during lunch, Mr. Mallory discussed the first item on the agenda for the chapter meeting. The meeting was to be held later that day. The item had to do with a discussion of possible chapter action to obtain a greater allotment of personnel for the school. He indicated that he had come to believe that the chapter should try to bring pressure to help alleviate this situation at the school. He ventured that some of the possible actions he had in mind included: (1) taking an ad in one of the local papers, (2) picketing the school or the district superintendent's office before and after school, and (3) submitting a petition to the district superintendent. Mr. Mallory also expressed the thought that it might be possible to involve the parents. He said that the idea had gained support from teachers and the administration. "I have talked informally with some of the teachers and they seem to be in favor of some kind of action," he said. He had talked with Mr. Shayne who had told him to do as he wanted. "He does not mind," he said. "He'd be for it."

Mr. Mallory continued in reference to Mr. Shayne, "He had told the parents that if the teachers are doing something good for the school, I would be on the streets with them." Mr. Mallory concluded by saying he was not sure of the outcome of the discussion in the chapter meeting. "I do not know if it will work out," he said. "It is hard to get teachers to come in early, or stay after school."

High School A-3

Background

High School A-3 was located in an area not unlike that of P.S. A-1. It had experienced increasing growth, but it was also a place where many of the same people had lived for some time. The people were characterized by the principal as being not overly ambitious for their children in regard to higher education. He said that about 50 percent of the graduates went to college. He also commented that many Negro families were more culturally enriched than many of the white families in the old sections of the community. He said, "I've been along the waterfront here, and it would compare to Appalachia, I would say."

Administration-Staff Relationship

The overall atmosphere of the professional relationships in this building seemed to be one of informality. For example, the observer noted the following conversation between the principal, Bob Grayson, and the UFT chapter chairman, Mike Ryan. Ryan said that he thought that the contract was good, that it had improved morale, effectiveness, and the teachers' sense of influence. He said, "The teacher does not feel that his influence ends when he walks out of his class and into the hall." Ryan asked Grayson if he felt that the contract restricted him. Grayson said, "No." He then asked Grayson what he thought about it. Grayson, after some hesitation, said that he felt that it gave the teachers some feeling of independence. Ryan asked if he thought that this was bad. Grayson said, "No." There was some discussion between the two about the new pension plan. Ryan asked Grayson if he would sit in on a panel. He said, "We'll call it a UFT meeting and invite everyone." The principal responded, "OK, if you will let me in on the UFT meeting." Ryan asked a question in reference to the pension business. "Suppose I send around a sheet, would that be helpful to you?" The principal indicated that it would.

Rule Adaptation and Application

The Rule. By-laws and procedures governing classroom observation.

> The number of classroom observations in the high school is a minimum of one full period observation per year for teachers on maximum, and one full period per semester for teachers on lower steps except for those on probation, substitutes, and "weak" teachers. Observations are usually made by the department heads rather than by the principal. The principal may make unannounced observations. The visit should be followed by a conference between the supervisor and teacher and a written report of the observation. The teacher receives one copy of the report. Another copy, signed by the teacher to acknowledge receipt, is placed in the teacher's file. The teacher may not refuse to sign a copy but may append an answer. Complaints arising on the grounds of excessive visitations or failure to hold a conference or receive a written report of the observation are grievable but not subject to arbitration.

The Behavior. Mr. Grayson asked the mathematics teacher, Mr. Castle, if he could sit in on his class -- a lesson in trigonometry.

Castle made several spelling errors of omission during the period. (Mr. Grayson later commented to the observer that the lesson was not too imaginative and that there might have been more overt participation by the students but that Castle, who was the senior class advisor, was a pretty good teacher.) He indicated that he had visited Castle because he was making the rounds of other mathematics teachers -- some more than once. As Mr. Castle was leaving the room, Grayson spoke to him and commented favorably about his class. Grayson remained in the room to observe Mr. Braverman's eleventh-grade mathematics class the following period. He was there about ten minutes when an office messenger came in to speak to him, and he left soon thereafter. On the way back to his office, he indicated to the observer how he thought Braverman might better have explained the concept of variation, which was the focus of the lesson, and said that Braverman knew his math but that his teaching left something to be desired. Later that day, Grayson had lunch in the Faculty Room.

During the lunch period he tried to suggest to Braverman some possible improvements in his questioning techniques, but Braverman refused to accept the criticism. Braverman emphasized the need for the students to read the text and talked about the dependence of a teacher upon a good text. There was some discussion involving the text he had been using (a review book). Grayson mentioned that such a book would be used by the tenth grades next year. Braverman mumbled something about the book being fragmented. As he got up to leave, Grayson whispered to Braverman that since the observation had been interrupted that morning he would stop back again.

Group B:

School B-1 Elementary

Background

P.S. B-1 is a special service school located in a slum tenement district of the city. Since the turn of the century, the area has been the recipient of wave after wave of foreign immigration, and the present population is comprised of Puerto Ricans and Southern Negroes.

The school plant, which is quite old, housed approximately 725 pupils. The lack of adequate facilities was a major concern of the staff. The following anecdote illustrates this point.

During lunch, seven teachers were sitting around a table, discussing complaints. Miss Horvath, one of the UFT representatives, said that the teachers had no say in terms of renovation of the building. Mr. Ramera, another of the UFT representatives, and others present agreed with the statement. They added that regulations required that doors be built eight feet from the corridor. However, doors had been built with no consideration for what might be on the other side of the partition. Mr. Ramera said that part of his blackboard was damaged. Miss Horvath said that part of her pupil coat closet was removed. The teachers felt that they should have been consulted by the department in charge of renovation. Ramera and other teachers also objected to the manner in which curriculum innovation was instituted. They said that teachers were rarely consulted prior to new curriculum changes. Horvath said that the in-service preparation given to teachers for the new math was inadequate. They knew that the union was sharing their interest in these issues. They continued at length in regard to the need for curricular training experiences. They decried the lack of communication between the Board of Education officers and the staff with regard to the introduction of new guidebooks. They also complained that the building was old and had no adequate teachers' room.

The general attitude of the staff was reflected in sentiments expressed by a guidance teacher. She held that there were certain difficulties peculiar to slum schools, such as the type of pupils in the school and the problems of non-readers and non-English speaking students. She said that many of the children in the school came from broken homes where there were illegitimate children, alcoholism, and the use of narcotics. The teacher felt that these problems had to be faced by the school, even though the community was lax. The school had many resources available and the parents were cooperative. She maintained that there was reason to be optimistic even though the environment was so depressing.

Administration-Staff Relationships

Mrs. Romanov, a teacher, described the school in the following way: She said that the faculty was wonderful. "Mr. Kravitz [the principal] is marvelous. We have never had a grievance for as long as I have been here...Mr. Kravitz always writes letters of commendation to teachers when he is pleased with something they have accomplished. These are long letters and they are carefully thought out. There are few principals that would take the time to do things like this." She thought that there was excellent communication within the school and said that Mr. Kravitz was always available to talk to teachers. She had been in the school since 1957, one-half year longer than the principal had been there. She called him "marvelous." "But," she added, "we need better facilities." She went on to say that it was terrible that the school lacked adequate bathroom facilities and that the teachers had to eat in the library.

In discussing the principal-union leadership, the principal, Mr. Kravitz, mentioned, "No request has been made by the representatives for our next meeting." He stated, "In some buildings they meet maybe the fourth Wednesday of every month. But here, in my building, they sometimes do not have anything to deal with and it may go up to three months without a meeting." He continued, "The union requires a monthly meeting. I will meet as per contract and I have told the union representative that I will meet at their request. The things they bring up are really not grievances, since the matters really deal with conditions of the building." He then began to talk at length about the physical changes he had brought about in the building and the future Board plans for renovation.

Rule Adaptation and Application

The Rule. Duty-free lunch period.

The Behavior. At twelve o'clock, the teachers of grades two, three, and four met with Mrs. Leonard, the assistant principal, in order to prepare for the administration of reading achievement tests. Ten teachers sat around two tables eating lunch. Mrs. Leonard thanked the group for coming. Sets of test directions were given to each teacher. Mrs. Leonard reviewed the testing dates, the practice tests and other details. Then they discussed the test booklet and reviewed the coding for the processing of the data. Some questions came up concerning the proper coding for test booklets and a discussion followed. Mrs. Leonard mentioned that she had taken great care in the formulation of the direction sheets and she asked that the teachers exercise caution not to lose them. There were no further questions. The teachers got up from the table, tidied the room, and left.

Later that afternoon, Mrs. Leonard talked about the testing meeting. She said that the noon lunch hour meeting was ih violation of the union contract, but that teachers preferred a noon meeting to an after school meeting. She felt that if teachers objected to the meeting, they would not be held at that time. Mr. Kravitz concurred with Mrs. Leonard, stating that teachers were not always fully in accord with the union.

The Rule - Union Contract Article V C 1 d 2. In the case of IGC cases, the policy of rotation of qualified teachers every three years should be followed.

The Behavior. In citing another example in which teachers were not in full accord with the union, Mr. Kravitz said, "According to the union, IGC teachers are to be rotated, but I do not rotate my two teachers. All the teachers on the staff are in accord that the two teachers, Mrs. Romanov and Mrs. Tucker, are the two best teachers for those classes and should continue with them. These are the two best IGC teachers in the country. If the staff and the union made an issue over the matter, I would rotate the teachers." Kravitz went on to say that he does a number of things not in accord with the union contract, but that the teachers agree with his procedures. He said that he never called a teacher for consultation after observation because it would be a contract violation.[2] Furthermore, he did not wish to put a teacher in a position where she could say no to him or inform him of a contract violation. Mrs. Leonard said that she never conferred with teachers during their preparation periods. If they requested a conference with her, she would oblige. Mr. Kravitz and Mrs. Leonard concurred that they tried to be considerate of teachers, the school program, and the children.

The Rule. Teachers must sign in or punch in upon arrival at the school.

The Behavior. Mr. Kravitz said that there had never been a step-two grievance at the school. "Everything is resolved right here in the school. The union committee and I are to meet once per month as the union requests. Sometimes we meet every two or three months. The committee and I talk mostly about policy. I have asked them if there are any grievances, but they have none," he said.

"But I have one," he continued. "Teachers werce not supervising pupils in the morning and also were coming in late. The teachers themselves straightened this out," he said, " and they cover and supervise the pupils adequately."

Mr. Kravitz again stated that no grievance had been instituted by his school. "There were times when I used to call headquarters to obtain clarification of policy. Many things as written in the contract are very ambiguous and clarification is needed." He stated, "The dichotomy between the administration and the union is stupid, since both are for the same things in many cases. As for preparation periods, for example," he said, "I instituted them for this staff long before the union contract. There is no conflict on these matters since administration knows about the needs of teachers.

The Rule. Teachers are not to be used to collect money for any purpose without the permission of the Board of Education Bylaws (90 sub 22).

The Behavior. Mrs. Harold entered the office and asked if she could see Mr. Kravitz. He nodded for her to sit down. She placed some cash and checks on the desk. He collected the money and placed it in an envelope. The money had been collected from the teachers for the Red Cross. She asked him if he wanted to see the list of the names of the teachers who had contributed. He said, "No, I don't want it to affect my thinking." He went on to say, "It is enough that I turn the money in." After the teacher left, he mentioned that according to the union contract he should not be using a teacher for collection, but it was a job that had to be done. Two years ago he had asked Mrs. Harold if she would do this, and she had been doing so ever since that time.

The Rule. Pay telephone facilities - Union Contract IV f 16 b[3]; Vending machines for beverages - Union Contract IV F 16 c.[4]

The Behavior. Mrs. Romanov, a UFT representative, said that she planned to give Mr. Kravitz the name of someone to contact for the installation of a liquid refreshment dispenser for the teachers' room. "Everyone is for this, the union supports it, and Mr. Kravitz needs to contact the company for installation." She continued, "The situation in the building concerning water is awful. The lack of sinks; the water is too hot and the custodian refuses to rectify the situation by installing a bridge between the hot and cold faucets so that hot and cold water can be mixed. Have you noticed the room" Isn't it inadequate? The teachers are paying for it, not more than a dollar each, every few months, but they still pay to have their own water." She said that teachers were not allowed to use the office phone but that teachers did chip-in 20 cents per month to carry the expenses of having a pay phone for the teachers.

"The real complaint teachers have, and what they want," Mrs. Romanov said, "is a new building. It is the only problem we have. Mr. Kravitz is marvelous, he sees through things, and he appreciates the efforts of the teachers. He is free always, anytime, to talk to a teacher. The faculty has excellent morale. But it is the building, the terrible lighting, the P.A. system, the water situation, and no real lunchroom for teachers." She then talked about the inadequacies of her own classroom, commenting upon such things as the lack of water and improper heat. She stated that working in the classroom was a very difficult situation.

Junior High School B-2

Background

Junior High School B-2 is located in a neighborhood adjacent to a ghetto area. The building, which was constructed within the past five years, gives the appearance of being much older because of its architectural styling and the quality of maintenance. The neighborhood, although deteriorating, is not a slum. The housing could be characterized as World War II tenement apartments. Until the mid-nineteen-fifties, the neighborhood was inhabited by refugees who had fled Germany before the outbreak of World War II. A second wave of immigrants, who had survived the war, later settled there. These successive cycles of immigration resulted in a neighborhood that replicated a European middle class community. As the influx of Southern Negroes into neighboring areas has increased (during the post-war years and the mid-fifties) the Negro population has spilled over into this area.

The Administration-Staff Relationships

The administration-staff relationship at this special service junior high school was one of mutual distrust and disrespect. The observers noted the following remarks of a group of teachers who were talking in the cafeteria: One commented, "Did you see the third floor of this building? There is no excuse for the noise up there. There is no supervision in this building." Another said, "I know I am not alone in these feelings. Ninety percent of the teachers agree with me. They won't say anything, they are afraid." Sometime later still another teacher remarked, "In the old building things were much better, 75 percent better." At this point other teachers at the table nodded in agreement. "This building is bigger, harder to handle, and Mr. Okum [the principal] chased 12 teachers out of the building with his anti-union attitudes. He also got rid of the most effective assistant principal because the two of them disagreed so often." Another said, "That children's cafeteria is a disgrace. Administrators get concerned with finishing little details so that they can show how quick it is done, but the big things are left undone."

At another time, one teacher said, "He [the principal] is disliked by 60 percent of the staff. Some of these teachers really despise him. Why? Because of several factors. He is inconsistent. He makes policy decisions without consulting those who could be affected, and then he suddenly changes his mind. Decisions will be made concerning teacher acts and not only won't the teacher be involved in the decision-making process, but he will be the last one to hear about the decision. He is not concerned with the staff. He is more concerned with the community relations. He is not very competent here. When he took his six-month sabbatical leave we had an assistant principal take over and she was terrific. Everyone liked her." The teacher related that Mr. Okum considered his school a tight ship. "He says it so often that the orchestra has gotten to play 'Anchors Away' with special meaning." The teacher went on to say that good assistant principals in this school become frustrated. "They are delegated emasculated roles. They give up. My program was changed. I was given a part-time deanship. I was told about it after everyone knew. I was concerned about losing certain classes and called him for a conference. He was always too busy. Finally he agreed to a conference with me, with the assistant principals, and the other dean. Out of the two-hour conference, ten minutes were spent discussing the role of the new dean position. The rest of the time was spent on idle chatter, stories about his family, and things like that." The teacher continued, "When he was on sabbatical, a rumor went around that he was not coming back. He was supposedly taking a position with the Board of Examiners. He twists the rules to his favor, not to the teacher's." Later the same teacher said, "I have been luckywith him. I applied for a transfer a number of years ago, and there were no repercussions. Others who have applied for a transfer from the school and who have not been fortunate to get it, got hell from Mr. Okum. He really fixed them"

On another occasion, a teacher who held a union office volunteered the following comments: "Several of the teachers you were observing came to me to say that they were surprised, not because you came in to observe, but that he [Mr. Okum] came in. He never does this. It is so obvious that he came in to observe because you were observing him." She continued, saying, "We have pretty good relations with him now. He learned his lesson after being so anti-union a couple of years ago. Most of those people have left now, but for a time he had a tremendous amount of grievances and suits against him. I almost went with that group and only a few others remained."

Some days later, several teachers commented on the condition of the building and expressed their feelings about the administrators to the observer. One teacher commented, "I'm so glad you're here, maybe he'll stay in the building now." Another teacher said, "He's putting on quite a show for you. I wish you could stay here for a longer period. When you're not here he makes ridiculous announcements over the P.A. system every five minutes. He took you up to the fourth floor the other day. He hasn't been there in a couple of years." A third teacher in the group remarked, "The teachers had to take the initiative in regard to discipline. We are the ones who drew up the regulations." The chapter chairman who had joined the group said that he had shown the list of discipline procedures (which they had designed) to a few other chapter chairmen and had received very favorable comments. She said, "Very little is being done with the procedures. The administration, at first, agreed to go ahead with the plan and then they just ignored it." While discussing a bill that would mandate that supervisors teach one class each day, the chapter chairman commented, "Maybe they would learn to look for good teaching techniques, rather than worry about the condition of the windowshades."

The administrators perceived the root of the discipline problens in the school differently. Upon receiving a report that pupils were caught ransacking a room, Mr. Okum said, "I am getting sick of hearing about this." The assistant principal agreed with him. He went on, "We have got a very bad situation here. Teachers not obeying administrative directions, and a set of bad kids. The trouble with the kids started right before I took my sabbatical last year. It built up while I was out and now it's reaching a crescendo. The incident with the teacher on Friday who refused to detain a kid, even though he was told that there was a possibility of a rumble, points up the situation."

Later that day, in the teachers' cafeteria, several of the younger teachers were discussing the discipline situation in the school. They made remarks about how the assistant principals were so inaccessible and how some of them were being hard with teachers for personal reasons. One teacher commented," They don't want to know anything, and if you don't both them, they keep out of the classroom" Mr. Okum was heard to comment in the lunchroom that the poor discipline was the fault of the teachers. He related an incident about a teacher having left his patrol duty. He said that this teacher had lied to an assistant principal about the reasons for this behavior. He said, "This kind of thing did not happen before the contract."

Before the start of an administrative meeting called by the principal just previous to a staff conference, one of the assistant principals came in and talked to Mr. Okum about the deanship schedule. Mr. Okum reflected, "What is the matter? No lunch period for these guys because they are not covered by the union contract?" Following this, the other assistant principals entered his office and the conference began. Mr. Okum started by saying, "We should all be alert to what happened at an unsatisfactory rating hearing which I attended at headquarters. The UFT representative for the teacher was not at all like his reputation. He was too pleasant." He described the process of the hearing and then sent his secretary in for the folder on the case. Mr. Okum went on to say, "The general upshot of the teacher's and the union's statements was that we made a whipping boy of him and the children got off scot free. He said we were lying and that we offered no suggestion on how he could improve his discipline procedures." He continued, "He even picked up the suspension figures I published. You remember, I published them to show teachers that the Junior High School 98 situation did not apply to us. What I published showed that we were suspending kids. Well, this teacher picked up these figures and tried to imply that the administrators were losing control of the building." He went on to summarize his feelings and to give the reason why he wanted this meeting with the administrators. He said, "We have to be extremely cautious when we are being nice to teachers. Know your person, know who you are dealing with. Again, look to see if teachers are doing what you asked for, the last time. When we have a teacher whose personality we feel might cause us trouble be very careful." (Apparently one of the assistant principals had praised the teacher involved in the hearing, and the teacher had mentioned this at the hearing. Mr. Okum was obviously very embarrassed by the assistant principal's priase of the unsatisfactory-rated teacher.) He said, "In every instance where we have shown generosity, it has backfired. You must protect yourselves every step of the way." All of his five assistant principals seemed to agree with him on this point.

On another occasion, the principal and two assistant principals were in the principal's office. Mr. Okum turned to one and said, "Joe, what are we going to do about these high school records? These are serious papers and they have to be out on time." An assistant principal responded, "The grade advisors always ask for more time." Mr. Okum returned, "What we have got to do is to set fake deadlines and then nag them when they are not turned in. I hate to say nag but I have to." At this point an assistant principal added, "I always nag them." During that same administration meeting, the principal told his assistant principal that he had met with the UFT chairman and that during the meeting he had raised the issue that there were unsupervised student monitors in the assistant principal's offices and something should be done about it. Mr. Okum commented, "They're right. Even the nicest kids should not be left alone. There are things in the desk, all kinds of personal and professional matters that children shouldn't see." One of the assistant principals responded, "I hope I don't sound insubordinate, but

I am going to go along with whatever is decided." Another assistant principal commented, "I like to have the rexograph machine near me. I have to sign those sheets and my monitors know it, and I cannot be there so I need a monitor there. The teachers are trying to palm off all kinds of stuff to be rexographed."

The Rule - Union Contract V B 3. In Junior High Schools, classes in industrial arts shall not exceed twenty-two pupils (in special services schools) and twenty-four pupils (in regular schools).

The Behavior. During the administrators' meeting, one of the assistant principals reported that he had found three boys wandering around the building. When asked where they belonged, the boys had answered that their shop teacher would not allow them into the room. The assistant principal had gone to the shop teacher and spoken to him. The teacher said, "These students are in excess of what the union contract called for." Mr. Okum was visibly upset when he heard this and said that he would talk to the shop teachers."

The Rule - Union Contract IV F 19. The school day for teachers serving in schools is six hours and 20 minutes, inclusive of the lunch period, plus such additional time as the By-laws provide.

The Behavior. The secretary came into the main office and said that there was an irate parent who insisted upon talking with Mr. Okum. This parent had come to school because her child allegedly had been beaten the previous afternoon, in his way home from school. Mr. Okum indicated that he knew the story. He said, "I asked the teacher to keep her class after school on Friday, because of a threat of a rumble. The teacher refused." Mr. Okum elaborated, "This teacher felt he had put in his six hours and 20 minutes and he saw no emergency, so he let everyone go home." It seemed that the boy was beaten even though there was no general rumble. The parent insisted upon speaking with Mr. Okum about the matter. Mr. Okum went out to the parent and told her that he did not have time to speak with her. He said this in spite of the fact that the parent insisted that it was an emergency. Finally, the parent left.

Some weeks later, there was a conference at which Mr. Okum, the assistant principals, a student, and his parent were present. The boy had been involved in a massive street fight and had threatened an assistant principal while outside the building. The boy said that he would "get him" (the assistant principal) for reporting him. The student's argument was that the assistant principal should not have interfered with the fight since the altercation was not on the school grounds. Mr. Okum turned to the boy and said, "You mean you would like him to be like my teachers who turn their back on fights?"

The Rule. The teachers program committee is responsible for the assignment of teachers for the extra duty of covering classes due to the lateness or absences of teachers (on the basis of the six hour, 20 minute rule cited above).

The Behavior. Mr. Okum met with his assistant principals. The tone of the meeting was very somber. The usual small talk of a personal nature was absent. Mr. Okum obviously was very perturbed, and he seemed to have something definite on his mind. He said, "Ever since the Easter holiday, I have been doing more discipline than ever before. Instead of getting any assistance from the dean we have all become deans." They then went into a brief discussion of how they could establish better discipline in the building. They began by talking about the poor conditions that existed in the corridors before the morning late bell rang. One of the assistant principals suggested, "Let's get a recording of the Pledge of Allegiance, play it over the loudspeaker and let all the kids be aware that they are due in their rooms before the pledge is played." The other assistant principal said, "The kids aren't there, because the teachers aren't there. The teachers are having their coffee in the cafeteria between 8:40 and 9:00 o'clock. The teachers aren't supposed to be there anyway." The other assistant principals seemed to agree. They said, "Let's close the cafeteria then." Mr. Okum answered, "No, it wouldn't work. There is a very definite pulse in the air, with regard to negotiation this year. They [the teachers] ask for all things and they try to get them." One of the assistants responded, "They'll get everything from the Superintendent." Mr. Okum turned to the assistant principal and said, "You're giving them everything." They then went on to the after-school situation and someone suggested, "Let's assign the QT's (Quota Teachers who have no official classes) to duty after three o'clock." Another assistant principal in the group turned to the one who had made that suggestion and in a mimicking fashion said, "They won't work after three o'clock." He went on to say, "The quota teachers are also coffeeing in the morning." To which one of the assistants responded, "Well, let's end that too. Those quota teachers get away with murder." Mr. Okum, after listening to this exchange, suggested, "You can kill two birds with one stone. Let's assign the quotas to a specific place at a specific time." The assistants nodded, and they turned to the matter of trying to get teachers to cover for other teachers who are late or absent for the morning session before the substitutes arrived. One assistant said, "The program committee is engaging in a little sabotage. They're waiting until the last minute before assigning people to the official class period." Mr. Okum responded, "You're right, this has been going on for the longest time."

The Rule - Union Contract XII. Upon request to the principal of the school, the union chapter in that school shall be permitted to meet within the building under circumstances which do not interfere with the instructional program. Such meetings may be held only during the lunch period, or before or after school hours at a place to be assigned by the principal where other teachers and children are not present.

The Behavior. An assistant principal entered Mr. Okum's office and said, "I hope you don't mind, a UFT meeting was called and we couldn't get permission from you since you were out of the building." Mr. Okum reacted, "Of course not, it's strictly a routine matter, but I am amused that the notice of the meeting went up and then permission was asked."

The Rule. Faculty conferences are limited to one 40 minute conference per month.

The Behavior. The faculty conference began promptly at 3:05. The assistant principal walked around the room taking attendance. Apparently all the teachers who were supposed to be there were present. Mr. Okum introduced one of the assistant principals. He had previously commented that this young man was doing very, very well for a beginner and that he was very proud of him.) He began to explain the use of the dean's office and the procedures upon which the staff and the administrators had agreed. He passed out some new sheets that would help with the discipline procedure. Upon seeing one of these sheets, a teacher at one end of the room commented, "There isn't enough room on these sheets for every discipline case I run into." At this point, the assistant principal commented, "These section sheets are for positive effects, no negative effects." He chided the teachers mildly by saying, "We're not getting all the conduct sheets back at the end of the day like we're supposed to." A teacher raised his hand and said, "We aren't getting these conduct sheets, in the first place, so how can we give them back to you?" The assistant principal then explained the use of the blue cards. The cards had been in use for some time, and he reminded the teachers to utilize them properly. As he continued, the UFT chapter chairman stood up and countered several of his statements, saying that he was not familiar with the correct use of the blue card. Several teachers backed up the chapter chairman's charge. The assistant principal retracted his statements and agreed with what the chapter chairman had said. The assisdant made several other statements, and at this juncture the chpater chairman again corrected him. The teachers seated at one of the tables added that the assistant principal didn't know what he was talking about. Mr. Okum interrupted occasionally to explain some of the points being made by the assistant principal. The UFT chapter chairman and a teacher questioned Mr. Okum and the assistant principal in reference to situations that might occur if the dean were not available in an emergency. The teacher thought that any of the five assistant principals should be responsible during those periods when the dean was not available. (There are ten such periods each week; this would therefore entail two periods of coverage per week for each of the five assistant principals.) Mr. Okum responded, "The assistant principals don't have regular schedules. They have supervisory duties. If you are going to schedule them for regular periods, the next thing you should give them is a duty-free lunch period." Mr. Okum was laughing at this point. After he made this remark one of the teachers behind him commented, "He played his bridge game today." (Mr. Okum usually played bridge with his two secretaries and a teacher during lunch period.) The meeting went on, with the assistant principal doing his best to explain the role of the deanship and the use of some of the new forms he had suggested. At exactly 3:50 Mr. Okum stood up and told the assistant principal to allow all those who wanted to leave to do so. When this announcement was made between one-quarter and one-half of all the teachers arose and left the room. Mr. Okum actually stopped the assistant principal in a middle of a sentence. The remaining people stayed another five minutes or so to hear bits of discussion on similar matters.

Summary of the Climate of Junior High School B-2

As one assistant principal left Mr. Okum's office another rushed in to say, "We've had four accidents in the last hour." Mr. Okum frowned. He almost put his head down on the desk. He commented, "I understand one of the kids had several accidents. He was with the music teacher, wasn't he?" The assistant principal nodded and went on to relate the other incidents, of which Mr. Okum had not been informed. The assistant commented, "I think the music teacher is a nut. I hate to say it but it's true." Mr. Okum said, "Why do you hate to say it? It probably is true." Two more assistant principals entered the room (one of them had a very, very worried look upon his face) and related to Mr. Okum that a young teacher had refused to take advice on a teaching matter. The assistant principal commented, "They [the teachers] have a feeling of knowing it all. They believe all they read in the Union Paper." Mr. Okum nodded, "The contract makes it impossible to turn a passing teacher into a good teacher." The assistant principal offered his early experience. "Before the contract, when I was a young teacher, I would quiver when I was in a supervisor's presence. Now they don't even listen." Mr. Okum looked at him very seriously and then said, "Look, I don't want them to quiver. I never did as a young teacher." At this point Mr. Okum spent ten minutes relating his early experiences with supervisors and how some of them were so very helpful to him. He continued, "This teacher you had described had Harold Schwartz at Berkeley last summer. When the teacher told Harold he wanted to teach in New York, Harold said the only principal to work for was me." They continued to discuss this teacher and Mr. Okum went on to another matter and said, "This teacher told me he was coming back in the fall, and then he goes and looks for another job.

This is the fault of the contract. The teachers are protected, they can't be dismissed and the kids suffer in the long run, if there is an uncovered class. I am not filling out that reference form from the California Teachers Association. I filled out one 16 years ago and only got into trouble as a result." Mr. Okum and the assistant principal continued in this vein. He said, "These young teachers really think they invented trade unionism. It gets me. I was on many picket lines. Some of them tell the chapter chairman one thing [regarding a complaint] and then tell me something else. In the long run, I think they are turning from professionals to blue collar workers. He went on, "Before the contract, there were individuals who would not listen to a supervisor's advice. There have always been people like this. But they acted on their own individual strength or ego. Now, there is no individual courage, only group force. They aren't courageous individuals, and in this building the contract hasn't given them anything new. I always gave them all they were entitled to and more." He went on to discuss the music teacher.

"Our music teacher, who is erratic anyway, very well read and educated, he is a member of the extremist wing of the union. You can't tell him anything. Before the contract he was a different person." Mr. Okum throughout the exchange, was cool, calm, and seemingly quite happy. He was smiling and smoking, and not at all nervous. He continued, somewhat philosophically, "I hear so many of my friends saying, why bother? I get paid anyway. You know this is becoming a commonplace thing. Someday I might be just like them."

High School B-3

Background

High School B-3 is a vocational school for girls which had an enrollment of approximately 1,800 students at the time of the study. At the beginning of that school year the enrollment had been 2,100. The decrease in the size of the student body over the school year was indicative of the student turnover and of the high dropout rate. The school operated under an open-enrollment policy, drawing students from all parts of the city. In fact, most of the students came from the ghettoes located in the vicinity of the school. Eighty-five percent of the student body was non-white. There were more than 130 faculty members. Classes were quite small, averaging 20 to 22 students. Student attendance averaged from 80 to 85 percent of the enrollment.

Mr. Fein, the school principal, described the neighborhood as having been a high middle-class neighborhood, but going down. He related two incidents which occurred in the previous two months. The first was a mugging of a woman in the doorway of the school at 6 P.M., as she was leaving the building for the day. Mr. Fein said that his appearance frightened off the two young men; however, they managed to get away with the woman's purse. The other incident occurred at 4:30 P.M. as Mr. Fein was going to his car. He found that there were two or three young men sitting on the hood of his car. They were drinking. He indicated that he was very fearful as he proceeded toward the car, but he did go on and drove off. He said, "I didn't feel safe until I was away from the curb."

The Administration-Staff Relations

The administration-staff relationship at High School B-3 could best be characterized as one of spirited competition between the administrators and the teachers. The administrators and the staff felt that there were no insurmountable problems and that generally the school ran smoothly. One teacher said, "The only time the union is really any good is when there is low morale." (Union membership in the school was nearly 100 percent.) Another teacher said, "Where there is a sympathetic administration, there is no effect of the union." The principal, Mr. Fein, said that he felt the school was running very smoothly, and that they had few, if any, problems. He added, "No, we have no grievances, we settle all our problems among ourselves." Later, in the same conversation, he indicated that the most severe problem that they were having at that time related to a question as to whether or not teachers should be permitted to smoke in the coffee shop.[5] The coffee shop was the name given the school cafeteria since it was open to the general public as part of the vocational training program at the school. Smoking was not permitted by the order of the principal. There seemed to be a great deal of discontent with this situation.

Mr. Goldstein, the chapter chairman, indicated that he was the one who was responsible for many of the resolutions of problems in the school. He pointed out that it was he who had recommended that a certain teacher (a permanent substitute) not be retained, after a number of teachers had complained about her ability to handle classes.

He reported that one of the difficulties upon which he was working currently was a complaint by a student who had charged that a male teacher had been peeping into the girls locker room. When asked if Mr. Fein was aware of this problem, Mr. Goldstein said that he was not and that he, himself, would take care of it.

In discussing staff conferences, Mr. Fein pointed out that the meetings were limited to 40 minutes in duration and could not exceed this because of the union contract. He continued by saying that it was the UFT chairman who would announce when the time was up. The principal told the chairman, "I don't like to be interrupted if we are in a discussion. Teachers can get up and leave, but you are not to interrupt."

On another occasion, the chapter chairman, Mr. Goldstein, reminded Mr. Fein that there was to be a faculty meeting that afternoon at 3:15. He requested that Mr. Fein start the meeting on time. The principal pointed out that one or two teachers were always late, and that they were the people who delayed the start of the meeting. The chapter chairman agreed with the statement and the matter was dropped. He reminded the principal that the speaker at the afternoon faculty meeting should be clued as to the length of the meeting. The speaker should be told to judge and time his speech within those limits. At the conclusion of this discussion, the principal and the chapter chairman went to lunch. It was routine for the principal and the chapter chairman (along with some department heads) to sit at the same lunch table. Generally, their conversations centered around non-school matters. There was much joking and give and take. Sometimes the humor centered upon the general behavior of the teachers in the school and upon the no-smoking rule.

Rule Adaptation and Application

At a monthly meeting between the union chapter committee and the principal, held in Mr. Fein's office, the participants were seated at an eight-foot conference table. Mr. Fein sat at the head of the table. On his right was Mr. Feldman, a relatively young man with little teaching experience who was an English teacher. On his left was Mr. Kaiman, who was a social studies teacher with considerable experience. To the right of Mr. Feldman sat Mr. Goldstein, the UFT chairman. At the opposite end of the table from Mr. Fein sat Mrs. Jones, a member of the Business Education Department. At this meeting, several teachers came in and out, and sat to the right of Mrs. Jones. Mr. Horowitz, a first-year teacher, occupied the chair for awhile. Mrs. Ryan from the art department then replaced him. A young teacher from the physical education department also dropped in. At no time were there more than seven people present, although in total there were well over 12 people in attendance during the conference. (Different teachers sit in on meetings on different occasions.) Of interest was the fact that Mr. Feldman seemed to be chairing this meeting. He was the one who presented each problem, and he argued on behalf of the teachers. Mr. Kaiman was much more aggressive in his demands and much less willing to compromise.

Mr. Goldstein rarely had anything to say, even though he was the chapter chairman for the school. Generally, his comments were like the following: "Well, this is just a breakdown in communication." He did not actively participate in any of the more spirited arguments or discussions that ensued. Other teachers who appeared merely sat and listened. They very rarely made any comments and never made a comment other than one that supported a previous statement made by either Mr. Feldman or Mr. Kaiman. In summary, the conference, though attended by a large number of people, seemed to center around three people: Mr. Feldman, who presented the complaint, Mr. Fein, who reacted to the complaint in his role as an administrator, and Mr. Kaiman, who was rarely satisfied with the decision reached. Mr. Kaiman always seemed to push aggressively for a position that would be more beneficial to the teachers than the one acceptable to Mr. Feldman.

The meeting began promptly at 2:15 P.M. The first matter of discussion was the question of smoking[6] in the cafeteria -- an issue of some concern to both teachers and administrators. Under the present arrangements, teachers could smoke only in the upstairs lounges.

A plan to permit the teachers to smoke in the classroom across from the cafeteria had been proposed at a meeting held three weeks earlier, but still had not been implemented. At this prior meeting, it had been noted that the smoking issue was not a negotiable question. It was not a breach of the contract and, therefore, could not constitute a grievance. It had also been hastily noted that permission to smoke in the building was at the complete discretion of the principal. The teachers had therefore decided to approach the issue with tact and discretion. They had discussed at least three possibilities why Mr. Fein might have taken a firm anti-smoking position: the report that there was at least one teacher on the faculty who was allergic to smoke; the fear that the smoke would seep into the corridor and that the students would then be exposed to the smoke while passing on their way to their own cafeteria; and the fact that Mr. Fein did not like the odor of stale cigarette smoke. Subsequent to this meeting they had taken the matter to Mr. Goldstein, who had then arranged a compromise plan with Mr. Fein. The plan was simply that a classroom directly across the hall from the coffee shop be used as a smoking room. This classroom was used only during the first period of the day for teachers, and the rest of the day it stood empty. Mr. Fein finally agreed to the compromise plan under certain conditions: (1) there was to be smoking only in this room -- no food or drink was to be carried across to this room from the coffee shop; and (2) the room was to be kept spotlessly clean so the custodian would not have to remove ashes and cigarettes in order to make the room available for the next morning.

At the current meeting, teachers were again requesting that they be permitted to smoke. The compromise plan had not been implemented because no one had accepted the responsibility of unlocking the room or notifying the custodian to do so. Mr. Fein was now ready to agree that smoking be permitted in the cafeteria under certain conditions having to do with ventilation. His comment to Mr. Goldstein was, "Forget about it until something happens." This apparently satisfied Mr. Goldstein, for he did not pursue the matter any further.

Mr. Feldman next brought up the question of students' cutting classes. He indicated that there was a feeling among the faculty members that nothing was being done about the problem. Cutting of classes by students seemed to continue unabated.

The observer noted at least one incident that illustrates the approach used by Mr. Fein to deal with students who cut classes.

Two girls who had not been reported absent, had been discovered cutting classes. Mr. Fein was upset by this as indicated by his comment, "I'm going to raise hell with the teachers who don't report absences." This anger was further evidenced by the increased volume of his voice and the fact that he slapped some papers down on the desk while he spoke. When Mr. Fein met with the girls, he pointed out the harm that would result as far as their work was concerned in school.

Mr. Feldman's position at the meeting was that the use of detention (which was a school policy punishment for cutting) should be increased. He further wanted a teacher to be assigned to supervise the detention room. He indicated that such a teacher should be a volunteer.[7] Mr. Fein responded by point out the difficulty involved in assigning such a teacher because of the complexity of the master schedule, but agreed that the idea had merit. Mr. Kaiman then suggested that tutorial teachers (who are in the building four afternoons a week) be used for supervising detention. Mr. Fein decided against this procedure, and the teachers seemed to agree with him. The suggestion was then made by Mr. Feldman that aides be used in the detention room after school. Mr. Fein agreed that it would be a good idea if aides could be obtained on the school's allotment, but noted that there was no guarantee that aides could be obtained. The teachers then asked for a restatement of a cutting policy. Mr. Fein restated the school policy of detentions for cuts. Mr. Kaiman wanted to push this a little further and demanded that three cuts from any given class be punished by a failure in that subject. The principal responded to this by asking that he be given some time to look into the ramifications of such a plan. He added, "I am aware of the need for change in our detention plan. I will take a whole new look at this. We are not at odds on this problem."

The question of the use of teacher time for stapling the examinations that were to be used on a school-wide basis was then raised.[8] Mr. Fein reiterated his opinion -- that the union contract stipulated that school aides could be used only for examinations which were city-wide. Where it was simply a building examination, the teachers were still responsible for preparation of this material (as if they were preparing material for their own classes).

Twice prior to this meeting the teachers (through their chapter chairman) had sought relief from the stapling chore. The initial attempt had occurred about two weeks earlier. Mr. Goldstein, the UFT chairman, had come into the office early that afternoon to discuss with Mr. Fein a matter having to do with the English and science departments. Tests were to be given in the near future and the teachers were being asked to staple these examinations. Mr. Goldstein had pointed out that this was in violation of the contract, said that if Mr. Fein insisted that the teachers continue to do this job, the matter would become a grievance, and demanded that aides be used for the stapling. Mr. Fein had responded, "The aides are for hall patrol, no other duties." Mr. Goldstein had then argued, "As long as aides are here, they must be used for these other duties. It's a contractual agreement." When Mr. Fein agreed to look into the matter, Mr. Goldstein had responded, "You always tell me you'll look into the matter, but nothing ever happens. They [the teachers] are beginning to think I'm on your side. Next year, I'm not taking this job. I'm getting it from both sides. Six years of this is enough."

Two days later, Mr. Goldstein had come to Mr. Fein with a formal request that aides be used, on a school-wide basis, for the stapling of tests and for the handling of other materials. Mr. Fein had denied the request.

The next issue discussed at the meeting had to do with classroom observations of teachers. A teacher had complained to Mr. Feldman that he had been observed on too many occasions by the department chairman.[9] Mr. Fein immediately recognized the problem and he brought the department chairman's name into the conversation. The department chairman, Mr. Silver, was a personal friend of Mr. Fein, and he had visited High School B-3 the previous February, at the request of Mr. Fein.

The observer was present at one evaluation conference held after such an observation by Mr. Silver one month earlier. The teacher involved was a young man who had come to this country from abroad less than five years earlier. He spoke with some accent but generally had very clear diction and expressed himself well. Mr. Silver had immediately began the conference on a negative note by pointing out some of the things the young man had been doing incorrectly during the lesson. He went on to berate the teacher for the way in which he had handled the clerical details in the classroom. He criticized his lesson plan, pointing out that he had duplicated many activities. He chastized the teacher for not planning the lesson well enough and said that there were no aims, no goals, to be achieved. Finally, he stated that if this kind of performance persisted, he would have to recommend an unsatisfactory rating.

When the issue of too frequent observations was raised at the meeting, Mr. Fein defended the department chairman, but indicated that he may have been a little over-zealous and said that he would discuss the matter with the teacher, as well as with Mr. Silver. He also asked, "Is there anything in the contract that prohibits a department chairman from observing more than the usual three times?" Mr. Fein further maintained that this seemed to be a problem of "the bride being too beautiful." He thought that the complaint was the opposite of the usual position taken, since the union was usually concerned about too little supervision of the staff. Mr. Feldman brought up the fact that it could have been a personality problem and thought that the department chairman should have emphasized that he was there to assist the teacher in the preparation of better lessons. Mr. Fein agreed that assistance was needed in the classroom, and he said that he would indicate this to Mr. Silver. At this point, Mr. Goldstein broke in with one of his first comments, "This is a matter of communication and nothing more." Mr. Kaiman then picked up the conversation again and suggested that the teacher be the one to invite the department chairman to come in when he felt that he had a good lesson to present. Mr. Fein indicated that he had done some of this himself on occasion, but that this was not always the case, and he maintained that the union contract did not cover the number of observations and that the only official policy that now existed was contained in a circular that had been distributed by the Board of Education indicating, "At least six observations for a new teacher." Mr. Ryan, a first-year teacher in the science department, said that he feared the supervision of Mr. Silver. His specific comment was, "He ranked me. I feel it was an unjust criticism." There was some discussion about this point of unjust criticism. Mr. Fein then attempted to close the discussion by summarizing what had been said. "We'll take up with all the chairmen the need to emphasize: (1) that they see a variety of lessons, (2) that the teacher has the option occasionally to ask the supervisor to come back on another day, and (3) to review the whole philosophy of supervision with both department chairmen and with new teachers." Mr. Kaiman continued to discuss the fact that teachers fear supervision and requested, indeed demanded, that all observation reports have at least one commendation in them. Mr. Fein agreed that this would be a nice idea, if such a commendation could be made honestly.

The next matter to come before the group concerned a trip to Stratford, Connecticut. Mr. Feldman pointed out that one of the teachers could not take her class because there had been only ten days allotted for the students to hand in the money. He asked whether there was a possibility of a school bank and further pointed out that one teacher had paid for the tickets for 43 students.[10] (The students had eventually repaid the teacher.) As an alternate proposal, Mr. Fein suggested that the senior class donate money for trips rather than give a gift to the school. The General Student Organization could handle such a program. Mr. Kaiman seemed to be sold on the idea of a bank. He insisted that the bank was the only logical and reasonable solution to the problem. Mr. Fein pointed out that the youngsters were not always as responsible as one might want them to be. Mr. Kaiman then suggested the possibility of a bank in which the girls could make deposits so that they would have money available to them when they needed it. The attention then turned to Mr. Goldstein, who was the faculty sponsor for the General

Student Organization, as well as the chapter chairman. He was asked, "What do you think of this idea?" He said that when the students really wanted to support an activity, they had little or no difficulty obtaining the money. Mr. Fein mentioned that the school should be able to help worthy cases. Mr. Kaiman continued to press for a bank. Finally, Mr. Fein said: "OK, I give in. Set up some kind of references for the kids, some kind of credit system. However, you must use discretion and control." The matter was dropped and it appeared that the details had fallen into the hands of Mr. Goldstein. Mr. Fein did not indicate at the time that he had any interest in being involved in the establishment of the bank nor did he volunteer to help establish the proposed program of policy design and control.

One of the teachers then brought up the fact that seven minutes were spent in checking out the students at the end of the day, and suggested that the checkout time be cut from seven minutes to four minutes. Mr. Fein quickly agreed that the time could be shortened and he said that he was willing to split the difference by cutting two minutes off the checkout time. Mr. Goldstein asked, "What is the need for a checkout?" The two reasons given by Mr. Fein were, "Once a routine is established, it is best to keep it," and "This is the time when the girls pick up their coats, and you can't change a routine due to the season." Although there seemed to be general agreement on this point, Mr. Feldman continued to push for the implementation of a shorter checkout period, and he was supported by Mr.

Kaiman. They seemed to be the only ones in the group who felt this way. The group finally decided to try the five-minute routine. If this still was too long, checkout time would be cut back to three or perhaps four minutes.

Mr. Feldman brought up the fact that the time clock was running fast. Mr. Fein quickly said, "We'll check into it and have it repaired. However, how does this account for the teacher who was 20 minutes late this morning? Is the clock running that fast?"[11] It was a comment to which neither Mr. Feldman, Mr. Kaiman, nor Mr. Goldstein responded.

Mr. Kaiman then indicated that he felt that there ought to be a policy so that all teachers would have an opportunity to plan field trips for their groups. Mr. Fein agreed that this was a school policy and that there need not be any real question about it -- the matter could be worked out. Everyone seemed satisfied with his response.

Mr. Feldman mentioned the question of a policy statement regarding emergency coverage. The current problem concerned the Jewish holidays, at which time many teachers would be absent. The policy stated that any teacher who taught five periods a day would not be called upon to take an extra class (while there were other teachers who had not taken extra classes and who had less than the normal five-period load).[12] Mr. Goldstein then pointed out that some other teachers with less than five periods were also complaining because they thought that some of their other duties should have been counted in lieu of the class and that the load should have been balanced in this way. Earlier in the week Mr. Goldstein had complained to Mr. Fein of inequitable requests to cover classes; some teachers felt that they were being discriminated against and that they were covering classes much more often than others. After some discussion, the original complaint had been reduced to a request that records be examined to determine if there were any basis to the complaint. Mr. Fein's response to Mr. Goldstein during the meeting was that if those teachers who had the short program did not like the present system, they were at liberty to relinquish their programs to take a regular five-period load. He reiterated the present policy: No teacher (with a five-period load) was to be asked to take an emergency class while teachers with less than five periods were still available to be called.

The question of payroll was raised again. The teachers wished to have their checks delivered earlier than two o'clock, the time that had been set by Mr. Fein. Mr. Fein indicated that this was necessary because the payroll secretary had to do so much verifying and cross-checking of information and deductions on the actual voucher before the checks could be given to the teachers. He also pointed out that teachers were not cooperating in regard to the paperwork that had to be turned in to the payroll secretary.

At a meeting earlier in the week between Mr. Goldstein and Mr. Fein, the possibility of distributing the checks at the end of the day rather than as soon as they were ready, had been raised by Mr.

Fein. He had pointed out that the Bureau of Finance was requesting a new method of maintaining surety.[13] They wished to make sure that the vouchers were correct before the checks were distributed to each teacher. This would consume much more time than previously, and the financial secretary at the school would not be able to prepare the checks as quickly as she had in the past. Mr. Goldstein had resisted the proposed change on the basis that, "Some teachers are on the bottom of the scale and need their money immediately." As it turned out, this would apply to only ten or 12 teachers, perhaps less. The question was put aside temporarily. Mr. Fein and Mr. Goldstein had decided to initiate a survey to determine how many staff members would really need their checks immediately.

An interesting byplay occurred following Mr. Fein's comment about the lack of cooperation of the teachers with the secretaries. The teachers began to discuss, among themselves, the attitude of the secretaries. Since the secretaries were also members of the union, it was a difficult question to resolve. Mr. Fein, during this time, sat back with a rather broad smile on his face, looking from one speaker to the next. Finally, Mr. Goldstein said, "I'll take care of it. I will handle it, since the secretaries are union members."

At the meeting, the main argument for earlier check distribution was that the teachers who got out at 2:04 (the earliest time that any teacher could leave the classroom) sometimes had to stand in line for as much as ten minutes and sometimes as long as 25 minutes to get their checks. Mr. Fein indicated that the problem could be solved readily by assigning two secretaries to the task of distributing the checks, and the resolution offered by Mr. Fein was accepted.

The next matter concerned the rotation list of vacancies in duties and building assignments within the school. Mr. Fein said that this list would be available the following week. The teachers requested that the list indicate all available positions -- not only official ones, but other building assignments as well.[14]

At the chapter meeting held earlier that month, the second item of business had been the rotation of duties. Mr. Goldstein had announced that the duty list would be posted very shortly thereafter by the administration. This had prompted a discussion during which the teachers argued quite vehemently about the merits of the rotation of duty assignments. Senior members of the staff, who held more choice jobs, had felt that they should be permitted to keep their present assignments. The counter-argument was that each teacher had a right to the choicer jobs. Although the teachers thought that the union had done a great deal for them -- salaries and fringe benefits were cited as examples -- they also thought that the distribution of jobs was inequitable.

When the issue was raised at the meetings, Mr. Kaiman indicated that teachers seemed to be seeking more widespread relief from classes. Mr. Fein responded that the relief from classes depended upon the jobs and the qualifications of the personnel seeking these jobs, as well as an actual job analysis. Mr. Kaiman continued to argue that rotation of jobs should be arranged for those who were new. No one job should be assigned to a teacher on a permanent basis. In response to Mr. Kaiman's argument, Mr. Fein began a long explanation of the exigencies of the master schedule which, he said, had a bearing upon who was assigned to what job. Mr. Goldstein interrupted with his usual comment -- that the whole problem was simply a matter of communication and that the principal's explanation of the assigning of rotating jobs should be put in the form of a memo to the teachers. Mr. Fein responded, "Have some faith in the principal." He did say that he would seek out a teacher who had complained of injustice in order to explain why the choice had been made and what could be done about it in the future. Mr. Kaiman, however, continued to insist that all teachers be given a choice of assignment and be given reasons for whatever decisions had been made. Mr. Fein insisted that he needed flexibility in making assignments. At this point, Mr. Goldstein repeated with his comment, "This returns to the need for communication." Mr. Fein responded, "We will make explanations when asked. We cannot be expected to justify our every move."

At this point, Mr. Fein casually brought up the matter of teacher dress. He indicated that he had noticed a number of miniskirts appearing among the staff and this his philosophy was that the teacher should not be the center of attention because of her dress. Rather, the center of attention should be the teacher's expertise and the children's learning situation. One of the teachers, when questioned about the mini-skirt she was wearing, replied to Mr. Fein that she was simply expressing her creativity. Mr. Kaiman immediately took up the argument in favor of the teacher and suggested to Mr. Fein that he might be exploring a very sensitive area. Mr. Fein refused to continue the discussion.

Mr. Feldman indicated that the union contract called for teacher preference program sheets to be distributed 60 days before the end of the semester.[15] He asked whether that day was 60 school days or 60 calendar days previous to the end of the semester. Mr. Fein answered that he did not know and said that the preference sheets certainly would be out the following week. Mr. Feldman responded, "A reminder, Mr. Fein, programs are to be in the hands of the teachers ten days before the end of the school."[16] Mr. Fein agreed that this could be done.

The next topic discussed had to do with cafeteria prices. In response to Mr. Kaiman's complaints, Mr. Fein made it clear that this was a matter between the Board of Education and their contractors.

A question about the students' character rating sheets was asked by Mr. Goldstein. In the past the student brought the sheet to the particular teacher and the teacher completed the form while in the students' presence. However, some teachers felt that this procedure was embarrassing for the teacher, and the system had been changed so that the teacher would collect the sheets, complete them at a later date, and then return the forms directly to the official teacher or to the Guidance Office. Mr. Goldstein reported that the teachers now felt this to be too much work and would prefer to go back to the old system. The question was asked, "Are all of the teachers complaining or are just a few of them complaining?" Mr. Fein requested that the whole matter be taken up with the head counsellor to see how the program was working. There was a suggestion made that the time deadline be extended through the uniform examination period so that teachers could fill the sheets out while they were proctoring such examinations. This, once more, raised the question of the stapling of the tests and Mr. Kaiman again asked for an interpretation of school-wide vs. departmental-wide examinations. Mr. Fein (with some annoyance in his voice) suggested, "Let them make a grievance out of it and send to the superintendent for a decision."

This was the last item of business brought up by the group. The meeting quickly broke up at 4:45 P.M. -- a session of some two-and-one-half hours. There seemed to be a sense of satisfaction, a feeling that something had been accomplished. Mr. Feldman and Mr. Goldstein delayed leaving for a moment to thank Mr. Fein for meeting with them. However, Mr. Kaiman, who had laready risen, immediately put on his coat and left without any further comment to anyone in the room.

Summary and Conclusions

It is interesting that the differences observed between the behaviors of the schools in Group A and Group B were differences of process rather than content. What was done in the schools was the same, but how it was done accounted for the differences in behavior. Unfortunately, the data that show how similar were the overall organizational routines and occurrences in the six schools could not be entirely presented. This, of course, is not surprising, since one would expect that sub-systems of a bureaucracy, although different in geographical location and administrative personnel, would exhibit similar behavior more often than dissimilar behavior.

We would be remiss if we did not comment upon certain kinds of behavior observed but not described in this report. The reader would be in error if he concluded that the Group A administrators were pro-union and the Group B administrators were anti-union. In every one of the schools, members of the administrative staff privately expressed sentiments that ranged from extreme anti-unionism to moderate dissatisfaction with the collective bargaining agreement. Moreover, the frequency with which such negative sentiments were voiced by administrators was about equal in both groups. (The questionnaire data reported in Chapter V substantiate that this is the feeling of principals generally throughout the system.) Moreover, the authors found no evidence in support of the widespread belief that principals who were the most active in the Council of Supervisory Associations and other administrators' organizations had the greatest difficulty with the teachers' union. Here again, it was found that in both Group A and Group B there were administrators who were organizational activists and holders of leadership positions. Finally, it should be apparent to the reader that there was the least difference in the administration-staff relationship between Group A and Group B in the elementary schools.

An examination of the difference in the organizational structure of the elementary school as contrasted with the secondary school might clarify the nature of the relationship between leadership behavior, the union contract, and organizational structure. The nature of the functions and tasks of the administrators at both levels are also important to consider. Elementary principals have greater opportunity to exercise leadership, since the organizational situation permits greater frequency of supportive behavior and face-to-face interaction. In the secondary schools, most of the supportive behavior for teachers comes from subordinate staff (assistant principals, guidance personnel, department chairmen, etc.) and much of the face-to-face interaction between the principal and teacher is negatively influenced recourse behavior. (For example, the principal is called upon to support, upon appeal, decisions made by subordinates.)

Although such research may clarify for some of the differences in the leadership behavior between school levels it would not explain the differences within levels. Of some help here might be further investigation of the fact that while principals in both groups had negative feelings about the union contract, those in Group B, in various subtle ways (at times not so subtle), permitted this feeling to permeate this relationship with their staffs.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE FIELD DATA

In the first chapter of this report, the application of Gouldner's model of industrial bureaucracy to the phenomenon of principal leadership in urban education under union contracts was discussed. The hypotheses developed from this application are:

1. That mock rule administration will generate no tension between the administration and the teachers, and it will produce feelings of positive sentiment between the administration and the teachers;
2. That representative rule administration will generate few tensions between the administration and the teachers, and such rules will be supported by the sentiments of both groups;
3. That punishment-centered rule administration will be supported by one group and evaded, when possible, by the other group; this behavior will generate tension and hostility between administration and teachers;
4. That close supervision by administration will be viewed as punishment-centered behavior and will create tension which, in turn, will generate hostility between the teachers and the administration;
5. That mock and representative behavior will tend to coexist in schools that have "warm" leadership climates, and punishment-centered behavior will tend to be absent, and

   a. That there will be lower tension and little hostility in such schools;

   b. That these schools will have higher EPL scores than schools exhibiting punishment-centered behavior; and

6. That punishment-centered behavior will tend to exclude mock and representative behavior in the school, and will result in tension and hostility between teachers and administrators, and

   a. That such schools will have lower EPL scores exhibiting mock and representative behavior.

This chapter reports in summary form the field data (reported more extensively in Chapter IV) and their degree of fit with the hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1. Mock rule administration will generate no tension between the administration and the teachers, and it will produce feelings of positive sentiment between the administration and the teachers.

The data are replete with evidence supporting this hypothesis. Most of the cases of mock rule administration involved board rules concerning smoking, the use of school telephones, teacher time cards, and the use of sick leave. The mock behavior most always gave rise to comments from teachers such as "They [the administration] are good about these things," or "He [the principal] understands our [teacher] problems," or "It's great, the atmosphere here is great."[1]

On occasion, enforcing a rule that was usually administered in mock fashion generated a small amount of tension. Often this was mediated by the feeling that the principal really had to follow the rules issued from the main office. On other occasions the sentiment was rationalized with the thought that the teacher who broke the rule had done so stupidly and had gotten what he deserved. In general, the data support the first hypothesis.

Administrators are cautioned not to consider this hypothesis without regard for the rest of the model. No organization (school or otherwise), can be administered purely in a mock fashion. No school observed during the study was administered in such a fashion. The model does not predict that such an administration is adequate or that it will result in peaceful labor relations. In the "mix" of rule administration, mock administration does not produce tension. It does produce friendly relationships between teachers and administration.

Hypothesis 2. Representative rule administration will generate few tensions between the administration and the teachers, and such rules will be supported by the sentiments of both groups.

It appears that this is the critical hypothesis of those proposed by the model and tested by the data. The data indicated that certain modifications of this hypothesis, and, consequently, of hypotheses five and six, would be appropirate. While representative behavior did not occur without any tension, the data showed that the little tension that was produced tended to be transient, and the final results of such administration were buttressed by the sentiments of both teachers and administration. Sentiments expressed about representative rule administration included: "He is not anti-union," "That makes sense," and "Administration would welcome such efforts." In no case did representative behavior result in hostility on the part of either teachers or administration.

Usually the attempt to enforce representative rules came about through explanation, notification, and cooperative efforts, rather than through the use of threat of punishment on the part of either the union or the administration. Items such as teachers' meetings, coffee breaks for teachers, clerical work assigned to teachers, and preparation periods were points at issue. Representative rule administration solved the problem (usually by modifying the rule as specified by the contract or the by-laws of the Board) and also generated mutual respect on the part of teachers and administrators. Such rules were usually supported informally by both groups. If anyone did complain, they would probably have been ostracized by the entire staff.

The opportunity for representative rule administration is facilitated by the existence in each building of a chapter chairman and a committee of elected teachers who meet with the building administration. While such meetings sometimes generated tension, real hostility erupted only when the attitude of either the union or the administration representatives (or both) was punishment-centered. Often the introduction of a punishment-centered disposition on the part of either group resulted in hostility and retaliatory action in the form of punishment-centered behavior on the part of the other group. When one or the other group could restrain itself and continue to seek a representative solution, tension was reduced and solutions were found. On the other hand, the threat of evoking a penalty stipulated by the Board's by-laws usually resulted in a statement like, "OK, we'll just file a grievance." Or on the other hand, the threat of filing a formal grievance usually resulted in the principal drawing back from any attempt to solve the problem and stating something like, "Go ahead, and see how far you get."

In addition to the regularly scheduled meetings between union representative and the building administration, informal contact and free communication between principal and teachers and their elected representatives seem to facilitate representative rule administration. This informal interaction did not rule out the regular meetings but often resulted in statements such as, "We seldom have anything to talk about at the meetings," and "We solve the problems informally when they arise." In some schools both teachers and principals make such comments, while in other schools teachers complained that the principal never acted to alleviate their gripes. In the latter schools it would appear that the principal was either unaware of the general sentiment (and had a false sense of security) or was simply looking for an excuse to avoid contact with the existing problems. Based on these observations a corollary to the original statement can be developed.

Corollary 2.1. In schools operating under union contracts it is important to the establishment of representative rule administration that both formal and informal interaction continue on a consistent basis between teachers, their elected representatives, and the building administrators. The introduction of punishment-centered behavior, by either party, into their interactions reduces the chances of solving the problems with a formal grievance and raises tension and hostility. When either party can, under pressure, continue to function in terms of representative rule administration, tension is likely to be reduced and satisfactory solutions are more likely to be found without formal grievances.

This corollary and the hypothesis it modifies appear to be critical elements in the model of leadership climates in schools operating under union (or probably association) contracts.

Hypothesis 3. Punishment-centered rule administration will be supported by one group and evaded, when possible, by the other and will generate tension and hostility between administration and teachers.

Again, this hypothesis is confirmed by the data. Punishment-centered rule administration, even when infrequently observed in what would generally be considered "peaceful" climates, generates hostility and tension. Often this tension lasted beyond the actual situation, creating a residual sentiment that bred future grievances.

Principals who tended to adhere to every rule and use punishments to enforce the rules were thought of as running a "tight ship." One teacher exclaimed, "She says it so often that the orchestra has gotten to play 'Anchors Away' with special meaning." Tension was expressed by sentiments such as, "The principal really fixed them," or "She learned her lesson," or "They [teachers] won't work after three o'clock," or "I'm going to raise hell with teachers..."

It seldom appeared that rigid administration was the objective of this type of behavior. When punishment-centered rule administration occurred, the party that had initiated the behavior thought that they were justified in doing so. At the same time, the other party thought that they had justifiable motives for the action that had evoked such rule administration. In some schools, a kind of continuous warfare seemed to exist, with a constant atmosphere of slight tension and hostility, and breaking into open warfare during punishment-centered activity. The behavior is not unlike that of two nations, or perhaps two children, each provoking the other until one initiates a fight, at which point each can debate the "morality" of his own action and list the provocations of the other. The answer is, of course, the representative solutions involved in hypothesis #2. But perhaps certain personalities cannot avoid punishment-centered behavior; perhaps representative rule administration cannot be learned. This research project was not concerned with changing behavior of either teachers or principals. Based on the hypotheses, the results of such behavior can be predicted, however.

Hypothesis 4. Close supervision by administration will be viewed as punish-ment centered behavior and will create tension which, in turn, will generate hostility between teachers and administrators.

In general, the data confirmed this hypothesis. One instance, reported by the observer, is paraphrased and presented here as a typical case in point:

A particular teacher was abusing the rules. Although he had been warned repeatedly by the administration, he continued the deviant behavior. The administration then undertook a supervisory campaign to gather sufficient evidence for a disciplinary transfer, and the transfer was granted. In general, the teachers thought that the disciplined teacher had "got what was coming to him." But the method of close supervision (which was necessary under the union contract conditions if the transfer was to be accomplished) drew resentment from other teachers. "Sure he deserved what he got and he acted stupidly - but they [the administration] could get anybody if they snooped like they did. If they can do it to Charlie, they can do it to anyone."

In this case the representative rule did not evoke great tension, not even when a teacher was called to task for breaking the rule. General teacher sentiment supported the administration and not the teacher. But when a system of close supervision was initiated, the close supervision and not the final punishment created tension within the teaching staff. This appears to be a particularly good test of the model as well as this hypothesis. Representative administration established a rule which was supported by teachers. Repeated warnings which were known to other teachers reduced the possible hostility when punishment was finally used as a rule enforcement method. But the close supervision appeared to create some hostility and tension among the teaching staff in spite of this.

Hypothesis 5. Mock and representative behavior will tend to co-exist in schools that have "warm" leadership climates, and punishment-centered behavior will tend to be absent.

5a. There will be lower tension and little hostility in such schools.
5b. These schools will have higher EPL scores than schools that exhibit punishment-centered behavior.

Hypothesis 6. Punishment-centered behavior will tend to exclude mock and representative behavior in the school and will result in tension and hostility between teachers and administrators.

6a. Such schools will have lower EPL scores than schools exhibiting mock and representative behavior.

These hypotheses must be discussed together. In general it can be said that the hypotheses and their corollaries were verified by the field data. In part, however, this is because the wording of the hypotheses is not precise. There was less punishment-centered behavior exhibited in the "A type" schools. These schools had little hostility and a warm and friendly climate. They exhibited representative and mock leadership behavior patterns. They did have higher EPL scores than the "B type" schools. But there are variations for which the model has no explanation. All schools, both A and B types, exhibited all types of rule administrations. For instance, representative administration in the choice of a time for a faculty meeting was observed in the Group B elementary school. This school was recommended as a Group B school and verified through the use of the EPL scores. Yet the behavior of the administration and the attitudes of the teachers noted by the observer also tended to identify the school as a Group A school. The research team cannot account for the Group B nomination. They can, however, attempt to account for the EPL score.

First this was an elementary school, and all elementary schools in the original sample obtained higher mean EPL scores than did any Group A junior high or high school. This may be due to the smaller size of the elementary school staffs, or it may be accounted for by the personality factors that cause some teachers to choose elementary schools and others secondary schools. Thus the research team was from the beginning, hard put to say that the Group B elementary school had a low EPL score. It could only be said that the score was significantly lower than that of the seven other elementary schools in the sample. Yet the observed behavior of administrators in the Group B elementary school selected was largely representative, and the observed sentiment of teachers was warm and friendly. One teacher said, when speaking of the principal of this elementary school, "Mr. Kravitz is wonderful."

The fact that the EPL score of this school was lower than the other elementary schools may in part be accounted for by the observed unhappiness on the part of the staff concerning the condition of the building. Although the principal was powerless to rectify the situation, and in general teachers recognized this fact, there was probably a sort of negative "halo effect" because of the poor state of the physical facilities. Another situation was different in this school. The monthly meetings between the principal and the chapter chairman were often not held because "no request has been made by the representative...," while in Group A schools these meetings were held, either formally or informally or both.

Thus it is contended that School B-1 Elementary is not a deviant case but a misplaced school. Of course, all schools fail on a continum; the dichotomy is arbitrary. Instead of having three Group A schools, there were four Group A and only two Group B schools. This, of course, raises the question: Can there be or is there any elementary school that is clearly a Group B school? It seems probable that there are such schools, although none was in our sample. It may be that there is a smaller percentage of such schools among elementary schools than there is among secondary schools. It would be interesting to investigate these as hypotheses.

Another aspect of the data surprised the research team. Although this is not a violation of the hypotheses, the team was surprised to find so much mock rule administration in Group B schools and so much punishment-centered administration in Group A schools. The mix of behaviors was in the direction of the hypotheses, but administrative behavioral patterns were not as dichotomous as had been suspected.

Apparently, there are too many rules in the urban schools for anyone to try to enforce them all. On the other hand, no principal can ignore all kinds of infractions. And, there are too many teachers in the urban school to avoid totally the use of punishment-centered administration by even the most lenient principal. The critical element becomes the dominant pattern of administration.

More accurate descriptions might be that Group B administrator sees no alternative -- he either ignores the rule (mock behavior) or rigidly enforces it (punishment-centered behavior). The Group A administrator, however, while occasionally ignoring a rule and occasionally rigidly enforcing a rule, usually recognizes the special problems of his particular staff and tries to find a method of adapting the rule to the circumstances (representative behavior).

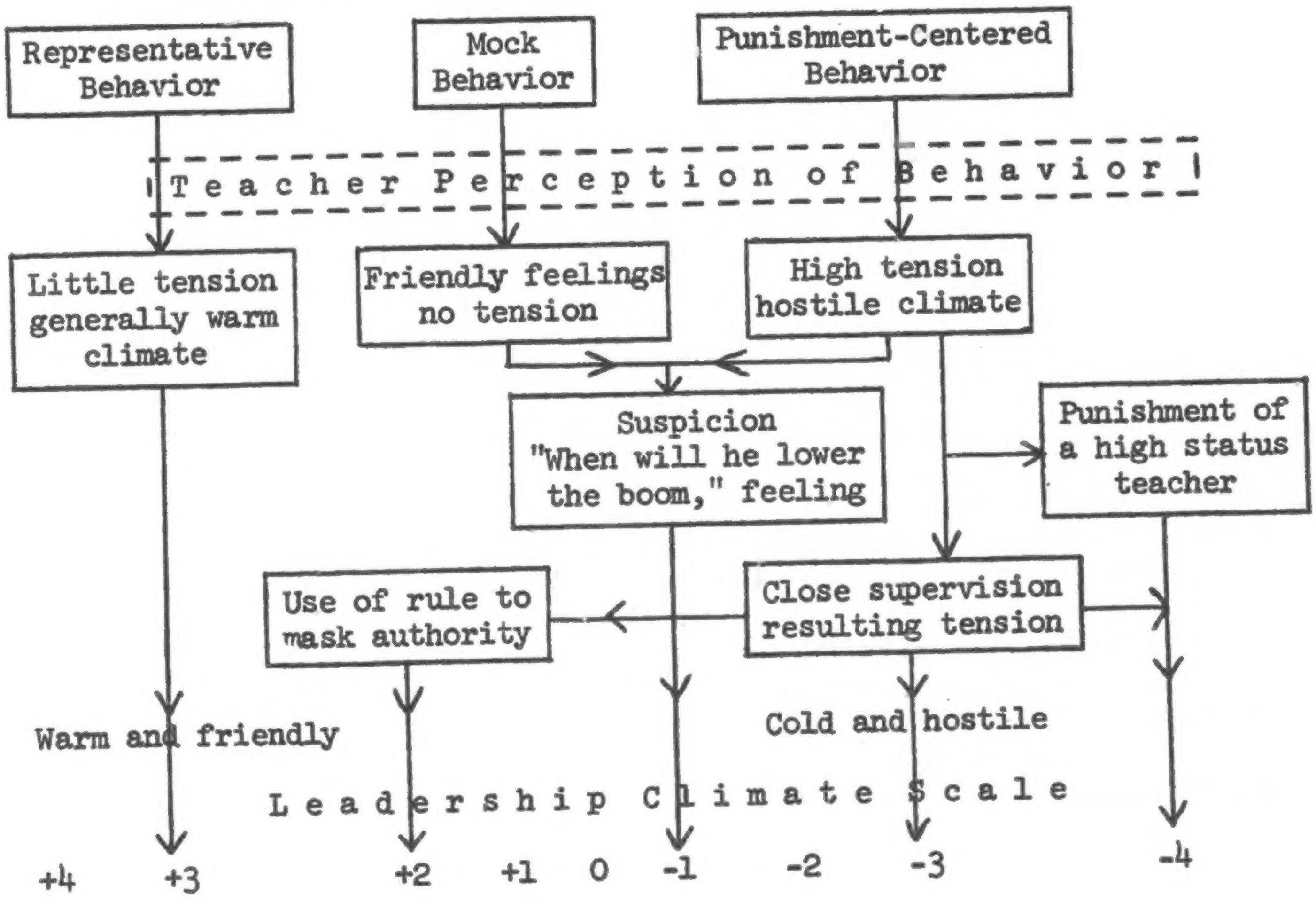
There is no question that the use of mock, representative and punishment-centered administrative techniques represents a continuum of administrative behavior. This is mirrored by a continuum of teacher sentiment ranging from warm and friendly to tense and hostile. No administrator exhibited only one type of behavior. It is the mix that is important, and representative behavior appears to be the important difference between the mixes.

Summary of Analysis of Field Data

In general the hypotheses derived from the Gouldner model are verified by the field data. Important processual specifications were added based through careful examination of the data. These relationships are diagramed in Figure I and stated in the propositions which follow:

FIGURE I

THE MIX OF BEHAVIORS RESULTING IN LEADERSHIP CLIMATE


Representative Behavior
Mock Behavior
Punishment-Centered Behavior
Teacher Perception of Behavior
Little tension generally warm climate
Friendly feelings no tension
High tension hostile climate
Suspicion "When will he lower the boom," feeling
Punishment of a high status teacher
Use of rule to mask authority
Close supervision resulting tension
Warm and friendly
Cold and hostile
Leadership Climate Scale
+4
+3
+2
+1
0
-1
-2
-3
-4

1. Each act of rule administration can be placed on a continuum ranging from punishment-centered to representative to mock administration.
2. No one principal exhibits but one pattern rather he tends to emit a mix of these patterns resulting in his style of behavior.
3. Sentiment of teachers is related to the type of rule administration and can be placed upon a continuum ranging from hostile with great tension to little tension and generally warm and friendly climates. These continua parallel one another, each tending to reinforce the other.
4. The equation of principal leadership climate may be stated:

$$Rvf + Mvf - (Pv - r)f = LC$$

where: R = an instance of representative behavior

M = an instance of mock behavior

P = an instance of punishment-centered behavior

r = the use of a rule to mask the authority of the principal

f = the frequency of the activity of rule administration

v = average valance where the type of rule administration occurs

LC = leadership climate

An intervening variable in the equation is the relative valance of each instance of rule administration in the perception of the teachers. This could be placed on a scale, its value established, and the average valance multiplied by the frequency of the behavior

(R, M, or P) in order to obtain a solution of the equation. E.g., if the average valance of all representative activities was .6, then Rv would equal .6. If the average valance of all punishment-centered behaviors was .3, then Pv would be .3. Thus, if there were 14 representative behaviors observed, no mock behaviors and ten punishment-centered behaviors with no masking, the equation would read:

$$\begin{aligned} .6\ (14) + 0 - .3\ (10) &= \\ 8.4 - 3 &= \\ +\ 5.4 & \end{aligned}$$

If, in the same situation, the average valance of the punishment centered behavior rose to .9 and the average valance of representative behavior fell to .4, the equation would read:

$$\begin{aligned} .4\ (14) + 0 - .9\ (10) &= \\ 5.6 - 9 &= \\ -\ 3.4 & \end{aligned}$$

But if rules were used to mask four of the five instances of punishment-centered behavior, then $(P-r) = 10 - 4$ or 6. This assumes that the rule masks the authority completely. This is seldom the case. More likely, r would equal between .3 and .8. Assuming complete masking, $P - r = 6$, then the equation reads:

$$\begin{aligned} 14\ (14) + 0 - .9\ (10 - 4) &= \\ 5.6 - 5.4 &= \\ +\ .2 & \end{aligned}$$

The LC scores thus calculated should not be considered as equal interval scores. However, they can place principals in rank order. The principal with the highest score will have a warmer leadership climate that will exhibit less tension or hostility than those principals with lower scores.

Another important caution. The sanctity of mathematics will possibly make the equations appear more scientific than they are in fact. The equation is merely another method of stating the relationships. That it can be solved attests to its simplicity. In social behavior simplicity has its virtues, that of spelling out non-complexed behaviors. It also has the fault of occasionally failing to account for complexed operational behavior. The equations offered here should prove useful to the operation school principal in predicting the results of his rule administration. In addition, it may prove useful to future researchers who may wish to test their validity.

CHAPTER V

THE QUESTIONNAIRE STUDY

As indicated in the design statement in Chapter I, a questionnaire was distributed to a sample of teachers and to all principals in the Urban District. Five thousand teachers were selected from a teacher list supplied by the Board of Education. Approximately 100 teacher questionnaires were returned to the research office because the teachers named were either transferred, on leave, or had terminated their employment. There is no way of knowing how many were not returned but merely disposed of in the event of teacher turnover. Questionnaires had been sent to the schools in the care of principals for distribution in school mail boxes. There was no obligation for the principal to return the questionnaire to the research office if the addressed teacher was no longer at the school. It is unusual that so many did. Approximately 1,500 completed questionnaires were returned and of these 1,090 were in usable condition.

Approximately 800 principal questionnaires were distributed. Of these, about 580 were returned, 533 in usable condition. Considering (as already noted) that it was impossible to use a second mailing or notification reminding respondents to return their questionnaire, this is an amazing response. It represents 25 per cent of the teachers and 67 per cent of the principals. Undoubtedly the percentage would have been higher if a second mailing had been made. The questionnaires returned after data processing began were processed as a sample of the nonrespondents. There was no basic difference between this group and the original respondents.

Various analyses were undertaken in an effort to discover how both teachers and principals felt about the contract and its effect on the principal's leadership behavior. This information places the data collected in the field study into a perspective of the total district.

Table I indicates the results of two of the major hypotheses tested by the questionnaire data.

Hypothesis 1. Principals will perceive the union contract as producing greater restrictions upon their leadership behavior than will be perceived by teachers.

Hypothesis 2. Professionals (both administrators and teachers) who have experience outside the urban city system will perceive the union contract as more restrictive upon principal leadership behavior than will those professionals who have taught or administered only in the urban district. The data is presented in Table I. The table shows that hypothesis 1 is supported and hypothesis 2 is rejected.

TABLE I

ROLE AND EXPERIENCE AS RELATED TO THE PERCEPTION OF THE EFFECT OF THE CONTRACT ON THE PRINCIPAL'S LEADERSHIP BEHAVIOR

Source of Variance	df	F Ratio	Sig.
Role (Principal vs. Teacher)	1/397	212.6575	.05
Experience (Some outside vs. None)	1/1468	.2188	N.S.

The acceptance of hypothesis 1 confirms the sentiments and behaviors observed during the field study. The perception of principals that the union contract restricted their leadership behavior was not unique to the administrators in the six field study schools.

Rather, the analysis yielded an F ratio that was highly significant and gives evidence that principals in Urban City view the contract as more restrictive upon their leadership behavior than do teachers.

Hypothesis 2, which tested the relationship between teaching and/or administrative experience outside of Urban City and the perception of the contract as being restrictive upon principal leadership, revealed no significant difference. This, in part, may be due to the fact that the professional staff (both teachers and administrators) is almost totally inbred. The number having had experience outside the district is so small that for all practical purposes the professional staff, in regard to this factor, is homogeneous.

The question then arises, how do differences among teachers effect their perceptions of the effect of the contract on principal leadership? Table II contains data related to this question.

TABLE II

FACTORS WHICH RELATE TO TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE EFFECT OF THE CONTRACT ON PRINCIPAL LEADERSHIP*

Source of Variances	df	F Ratio	Sig.
(A) Personal Variables			
Age	3/1074	.98951	N.S.
Marital Status	1/1074	1.49356	N.S.
Sex	1/1074	.00653	N.S.
Age X Marital Status	3/1074	.29962	N.S.
Age X Sex	3/1074	.88613	N.S.
Marital Status X Sex	1/1074	.01831	N.S.
Age X Marital Status X Sex	3/1074	.72536	N.S.
(B) Cultural-Social Variables			
Parents Birth	2/953	4.16449	.05
Father's Occupation	1/953	1.37333	N.S.
Religious Preference	4/953	2.34366	N.S.
Parent's Birth X Father's Occ.	2/953	4.84312	.05
Parent's Birth X Religious Pref.	8/953	1.15885	N.S.
Father's Occ. X Relig. Pref.	4/953	2.27599	N.S.
Parent's Birth X F's. Occ. X R.P.	8/953	1.24437	N.S.
(C) Professional Variables			
Grade Level	2/1073	.31190	N.S.
Subject Taught	6/1081	.8748	N.S.
Years in urban district	2/12/73	2.67623	N.S.
Grade X years	4/1073	2.41292	.05
(D) Combination from Groups			
Sex X Father's Occ.	1/967	1.05355	N.S.
Sex X Years in District	2/967	1.41815	N.S.
Father's Occ. X Years	2/967	3.76105	.05
Sex X F's. Occ. X Years	2/967	1.57762	N.S.

*Perception of principal's behavior in this table is defined as the total score of a teacher's response to both the principal's ability to operate within the school and his ability to help the teacher operate in the school.

It was hypothesized that each of the nine variables selected (age, sex, marital status, parent's birth, father's occupation, religious preference, grade level, subject taught, and years in district) would influence the teacher's perception of the effect of the contract on the principal's leadership behavior. The variables were chosen either because individuals within the urban system believed they affected perception or because, theoretically, they could be expected to affect the individual's perception about the contract. Actually, however, these anticipated relationships were not hypotheses in the strictest sense of the word as much as explorations to discover what might affect such perceptions. Thus, we will be just as interested or perhaps more interested in trying to explain why any of the variables affected perception as we are in the fact that they affected the perception.

The variables are grouped as they are for two reasons. They were originally chosen as particular kinds of variables; if all possible interactions effects were sought from the nine main effects, the number of interactions would be very difficult to discuss. Also, it was felt that certain variables were highly correlated and, therefore, perhaps would constitute only a meaningless exercise if combined. It was therefore decided to determine how (if at all) the following variables interacted to effect the teacher's perceptions of how the contract influences the principals' leadership: the personal variables of age, marital status, and sex; the cultural-social variables of the city in which a person was reared (majority of years before age 18),[1] his parents birth (foreign, native U.S., mixed), his father's occupation (blue or white collar), and his own religious preference; and the professional variables of the grade level taught (elementary, junior high, or high school), the subject taught, and the years of experience in the system claimed by the individual. In addition, selected variables (one from each group) were chosen in order to investigate the interaction of the three classes of variables. Thus, the "combinations from groups" were analyzed.

The results of this analysis, as shown in Table II, were as follows.

The personal variables of age, marital status, and sex singularly or combined provided no significant variance. That is, these personal characteristics were not related to any significant differences in the teachers perception of restrictions placed upon the principal's leadership.

Among the cultural-social variables, the place of birth of the teacher's parents accounted for differences in teacher's perceptions below the .05 level, as did the interaction between parents' birth and father's occupation, also significant below the .05 level.

Since these variables were significantly related to differences in perceptions, the Duncan multiple range and multiph F test was employed to determine if variance existed within the characteristic and the direction (i.e., relationship to perception) of that variance. No significant difference was found between the perceptions of teachers of foreign born and mixed parent (one foreign born).

However, between teachers of native born parents and teachers of foreign born, as well as teachers of mixed parents, the perceptions were significantly different. Teachers of native born parents viewed the contract as less restrictive than did teachers with either one or both parents who were foreign born.

In combinations, it was found that teachers of native born, white collar families perceived the contract significantly differently than teachers of foreign born, blue collar families. The native, white collar group perceived the contract as least restrictive as opposed to the foreign, blue collar which viewed it as highly restrictive upon the principals' leadership. One might guess that foreign born, blue collar workers in New York are closer to the union movement than are native born, white collar workers. It appears, then, that teachers with backgrounds that include fathers who were close to the union movement tend to see the union contract as restricting the principal's leadership behavior more than do other teachers.

Professional variables were also found to influence the teachers' perception of the contract. Although none of the professional variables were in themselves significant, the combination of grade level taught and years of teaching experience in the district was significant. Both elementary teachers with less than seven years' experience and junior high and intermediate (middle school) teachers with less than seven years perceived the contract as least restrictive while elementary teachers with 7 - 15 years' experience and elementary teachers with more than 16 years experience felt the contract most restrictive upon the principal. In addition, of the nine possible combinations of experience and grade levels examined, significant differences at the .05 level were found between the perception of elementary, intermediate, and junior high school teachers with less than seven years experience and: (a) elementary teachers with 7 - 15 years experience; (b) elementary teachers with more than 16 years experience; and (c) junior and intermediate teachers with 7 - 15 years experience. It would seem that teachers with less than seven years of experience, who teach in elementary, junior high, and intermediate schools, perceive the contract as less restrictive than do teachers who have more experience.

Finally, an investigation of variables from each type was made. Each combination contained three variables, one chosen from each type of major variable discussed above (e.g., personal, cultural-social, and professional). Of all the combinations tested, only one interaction, father's occupation and years of teaching experience in the district, was significant at the .05 level. Teachers with less than seven years experience and coming from white collar families perceived the contract as least restrictive while teachers with more than 16 years experience and of blue collar background saw it as most restrictive.

This finding was further broken down as follows. Increasingly significant differences in perception were found between teachers of white collar background with less than seven years teaching experience and the following: (a) white collar, 7 - 15 years experience; (b) blue collar, 7 - 15 years experience; and (c) blue collar, more than 16 years experience. In addition, significant differences were found between white collar, more than 16 years experience and blue collar, more than 16 years experience and between blue collar, less than seven years experience and blue collar, more than 16 years experience. Thus, the more years of experience the teacher had the more likely the teacher was to perceive the union contract as restricting the principal's leadership behavior. In addition, teachers whose fathers were blue collar workers saw the contract as being more restrictive, and there was significant interaction between the variables of fathers' occupation and years of service.

Analysis by factors. There were two factors in the questionnaire, responses to which were summarized in Table II. The first factor described the principal's ability to operate in the school. The second described the principal's ability to help the teacher operate in the school. The following two tables look at the responses to each factor individually. Factor one, the principal's personal ability to operate, is investigated in Table III.

No personal variables from the group of teacher variables in Table III effected the teachers' perception of the way in which the union contract had influenced the principal's ability to operate within the school.

TABLE III

FACTORS WHICH RELATE TO TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE EFFECT OF THE CONTRACT ON THE PRINCIPAL'S ABILITY TO OPERATE

Source of Variance	df	F Ratio	Sig.
(A) Personal Variables			
Age	3/1074	.94451	N.S.
Marital Status	1/1074	.09564	N.S.
Sex	1/1074	.00549	N.S.
Age X Marital Status	3/1074	.90313	N.S.
Age X Sex	3/1074	.42582	N.S.
Marital Status X Sex	1/1074	.00784	N.S.
Age X Marital Status X Sex	3/1074	.82887	N.S.
(B) Cultural-Social Variables			
Parent's Birth	2/953	4.90483	.05
Father's Occ. (F's. O)	1/953	1.25444	N.S.
Religious Pref. (R.P.)	4/953	2.98663	.05
Parent's B. X Father's Occ.	2/953	5.92998	.05
Parent's B X Relg. Pref.	8/953	1.23509	N.S.
Father's Occ. X Relig. Pref.	4/953	2.54752	.05
P's.B X F's. O. X R.P.	8/953	1.01528	N.S.
(C) Professional Variables			
Grade Level	2/1073	.25971	N.S.
Subject Taught	6/1081	1.3284	N.S.
Years in Urban District	2/1073	2.70571	N.S.
Grade X Years	4/1073	2.50299	.05
(D) Combination from Groups			
Sex X Father's Occ.	1/967	1.25046	N.S.
Sex X Years in District	2/967	.96177	N.S.
Father's Occ. X Years in District	2/967	2.62479	N.S.
Sex X Father's Occ. X Years	2/967	1.49849	N.S.
Age X Relig. Pref.	12/1070	1.73778	N.S.

Similar to Table II, teachers of native born parents viewed the contract as less restrictive than teachers of foreign born or mixed parents in regard to the principal's prerogative to act. Religious preferences, though not significant in regard to total scores, was significant in regard to the contract's restraint on the principal's prerogative. Jewish teachers viewed the contract as significantly more restrictive on the principal decision making function than did Protestants or Catholics.

As was the case with total scores, the variables of father's occupation and parents place of birth interacted to account for differences in perception of the principal's prerogative to act. The combination of cultural-social variables of father's occupation and religious preference, which was of no significance on the total scores, was significant in regard to factor one. The Duncan analysis revealed that teachers of the Jewish faith coming from either white or blue collar families viewed the contract as more restrictive on the principal than did either white or blue collar Protestants.

Those professional variables which had an influence on the teachers' factor one scores was the combination of grade level taught and years of experience in the district. (This combination of variables has already been discussed in reference to Table II.) No other variables or combinations were significant in explaining the differences in teachers' perception on factor one.

Factor two investigated the principal's ability, as affected by the contract, to provide means for the teacher to operate in the school. Table IV presents the data related to this factor.

TABLE IV

FACTORS WHICH RELATE TO TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE EFFECT OF THE CONTRACT ON THE PRINCIPAL'S ABILITY TO PROVIDE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR TEACHERS TO OPERATE

Source of Variance	df	F. Ratio	Sig.
(A) Personal Variables			
Age	3/1074	1.24255	N.S.
Marital Status	1/1074	2.31393	N.S.
Sex	1/1074	.00617	N.S.
Age X Marital Status	3/1074	.24869	N.S.
Age X Sex	3/1074	.91227	N.S.
Marital Status X Sex	1/1074	.03984	N.S.
Age X Marital Status X Sex	3/1074	.60233	N.S.
(B) Cultural-Social Variables			
Parent's Birth (P's. B)	2/953	1.56991	N.S.
Father's Occ. (F's. Occ)	1/953	.99964	N.S.
Relig. Pref. (R.P.)	4/953	.50987	N.S.
Parent's Birth X Father's Occ.	2/953	1.34646	N.S.
Parent's Birth X Relig. Pref.	8/953	.78187	N.S.
Father's Occ. X Relig. Pref.	4/953	1.03086	N.S.
P's B. X F's. O. X R.P.	8/953	1.80971	N.S.
(C) Professional Variables			
Grade Level	2/1073	.82323	N.S.
Subject Taught	6/1081	.7813	N.S.
Years in Urban District	2/1073	1.64473	N.S.
Grade X Years	4/1073	1.40977	N.S.
(D) Combination of Variance			
Sex X F's Occ.	1/967	.27275	N.S.
Sex X Years in District	2/967	2.40192	N.S.
F's Occ. X Years in Dist.	2/967	5.64447	.05
Sex X F's Occ. X Years	2/967	1.36140	N.S.
Age X Relig. Pref.	12/1070	.66786	N.S.

From among all individual characteristics and possible combinations, only one combination, father's occupation with years of teaching experience in the district, accounted for differences in the teachers' perceptions. Significant differences were found between teachers coming from blue collar backgrounds and having more than 16 years experience in the district and the following: (a) white collar with more than 16 years experience; (b) white collar with less than seven years experience; and (c) blue collar with less than seven years experience.

It might be noted that this combination of characteristics did not influence the perceptions of factor one, but was significant in terms of the total scores.

Principal Perception of the Union Contract

It will be recalled that the questionnaire was developed so as to elicit responses regarding the principal's as well as the teacher's perception of the effect of the union contract. Each question on the final questionnaire loaded on the same factor when both principals and teachers responded. This not only allowed the examination of the question, "Do principals perceive the contract as having a different effect than do teachers?", but it also permitted the examination of whether the same characteristics accounted for differences in perception within the principal sample as in the teacher sample. Tables V, Vi, and VII present the data for the principals using the same variables as listed in the previous tables.

The order of presentation is the same as above. First the total questionnaire score.is analyzed. This is followed by an analysis of factor one scores and then factor two scores.

TABLE V

FACTORS WHICH RELATE TO PRINCIPAL'S PERCEPTION OF THE EFFECT OF THE CONTRACT ON HIS OWN LEADERSHIP

Source of Variance	df	F Ratio	Sig.
(A) Personal Variables			
Age	1/525	.62673	N.S.
Marital Status	1/525	.03824	N.S.
Sex	1/525	.06907	N.S.
Age X Marital Status	1/525	.27347	N.S.
Age X Sex	1/525	.34553	N.S.
Marital Status X Sex	1/525	.11705	N.S.
Age X Marital Status X Sex	1/525	.10010	N.S.
(B) Cultural-Social Variables			
Parent's Birth (P's. B)	1/469	.96644	N.S.
Father's Occ. (F's Occ.)	1/469	.40004	N.S.
Relig. Pref. (R.P.)	3/469	.79010	N.S.
Parent's Birth X F's Occ.	1/469	.01514	N.S.
P'5. B. X Relig. Pref.	3/469	2.50099	N.S.
F's Occ. X Relig. Pref.	3/469	.06151	N.S.
P's. B. X F's Occ. X R.P.	3/469	.06151	N.S.
(C) Professional Variables			
Grade Level	2/530	1.7491	N.S.
Years in District	2/530	5.3337	.05
(D) Combination from Groups			
Sex X Father's Occ.	1/497	.02947	N.S.
Age X Relig. Pref.	3/434	.09998	N.S.

In regard to total scores (Table V) it was found that only the professional variable of years of experience in the district affected the principals' perception of the contract. Principals with more than 16 years experience viewed the contract as more restrictive than other principals. However, caution must be exercised in interpreting this piece of the data. Less than seven-tenths of one percent of the principals in the sample had less than seven years experience while 95 percent had more than 16 years experience. The remaining principals, or approximately four percent, had 7 to 15 years experience. Thus only about five percent had less than 16 years experience.

TABLE VI

FACTORS WHICH RELATE TO THE PRINCIPAL'S PERCEPTION OF THE EFFECT OF THE CONTRACT ON HIS OWN ABILITY TO OPERATE

Source of Variance	df	F Ratio	Sig.
(A) Personal Variable			
Age	1/525	.33996	N.S.
Marital Status	1/525	.02352	N.S.
Sex	1/525	.04725	N.S.
Age X Marital Status	1/525	.68404	N.S.
Age X Sex	1/525	.19748	N.S.
Marital Status X Sex	1/525	.01564	N.S.
Age X Marital Status X Sex	1/525	.00018	N.S.
(B) Cultural-Social Variables			
Parent's Birth	1/469	.50474	N.S.
Father's Occ.	1/469	.31182	N.S.
Relig. Pref.	3/469	.45271	N.S.
Parent's B X Father's Occ.	1/469	.00563	N.S.
Parent's B X Relig. Pref.	3/469	3.13157	.05
Father's Occ. X Relig. Pref.	3/469	.27593	N.S.
P's. B X F's. Occ. X R.P.	3/469	.11669	N.S.
(C) Professional Variables			
Grade Level	2/530	1.2410	N.S.
Years in Urban District	2/530	2.8050	N.S.
(D) Combination from Groups			
Sex X Father's Occ.	1/497	.17790	N.S.
Age X Relig. Pref.	3/434	.33588	N.S.

In regard to the principals' perceptions of the effects of the contract on his own ability to operate in the school (Table VI), only one variable, the combination of the cultural-social variables of parents' place of birth with religious preference, was found to be significant. Principals of foreign born parents of Jewish or Catholic faith perceived the contract as more restrictive than did principals of native born or mixed parents of other religious persuasion. However, here too, caution is appropriate, because approximately three-fourths of the respondents were of foreign-born parents and of the Jewish faith.

Finally, Table VII reveals data which is related to the differences in the way the principal sample saw the effect of the contract upon his own ability to provide operational freedom for teachers, factor two in the questionnaire.

TABLE VII

FACTORS WHICH RELATE TO THE PRINCIPAL'S PERCEPTION OF THE EFFECT OF THE CONTRACT ON HIS ABILITY TO PROVIDE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR TEACHERS TO OPERATE

Source of Variance	df	F Ratio	Sig.
(A) Personal Variables			
Age	1/525	1.05324	N.S.
Marital Status	1/525	.00711	N.S.
Sex	1/525	.03503	N.S.
Age X Marital Status	1/525	.49361	N.S.
Age X Sex	1/525	.53115	N.S.
Marital Status X Sex	1/525	.89532	N.S.
Age X Marital Status X Sex	1/525	1.47482	N.S.
(B) Cultural-Social Variables			
Parent's Birth (P's. B.)	1/469	1.66269	N.S.
Father's Occ. (F's. Occ.)	1/469	.44040	N.S.
Relig. Pref. (R.P.)	3/469	1.38996	N.S.
Parent's Birth X F's. Occ.	1/469	.49240	N.S.
Parent's Birth X Relig. Pref.	3/469	.49931	N.S.
Father's Occ. X Relig. Pref.	3/469	1.34019	N.S.
P's. B. X F's. Occ. X R.P.	3/469	.46407	N.S.
(C) Professional Variables			
Grade Level	2/530	1.7286	N.S.
Years in Urban District	2/530	9.8867	.05
(D) Combination from Groups			
Sex X F's Occ.	1/497	.69692	N.S.
Age X Relig. Pref.	3/434	.66030	N.S.

Finally, on the principals' perceptions of the contract's effects on their ability to enable teachers to operate freely in the schools (Table VII), only the years of service in the district accounted for significant differences. Principals with more than 15 years of experience in the district saw the contract as more restrictive of their ability to allow teachers freedom to operate than did principals with 15 or less years of experience in the district. No other variable or combination of variables were significant.

Interpretation and Summary

Principals perceived the union contract as restricting their exercise of leadership to a much greater degree than did teachers. The restrictions upon the principal, as perceived by teachers, were for the most part factor one items. That is to say, the contract was viewed by teachers as governing the principal's own prerogatives to act but not as hampering his ability to facilitate their teaching tasks. This impact of the contract on the principal's behavior has been interpreted by many teachers as narrowing the grey area within by-laws and policy, thereby limiting the exercise of personal judgment, and assuring a more equitable and objective treatment of teachers. Many principals, on the other hand, feel that the effect of the contract has been to weaken their role by removing their authority to act in areas that have been traditionally their domain.

Although teachers as a body viewed the contract as much less restrictive than did the principals, there existed significant differences in the way subgroups of teachers perceived the contract. Elementary teachers with less than seven years of experience and coming from either Protestant or Catholic homes with native born white collar parents saw the contract as least restrictive, while elementary teachers with more than 16 years experience and of foreign born, Jewish, blue collar parents viewed the contract as most restrictive upon the principal's leadership ability.

The commonly held notion that the young junior high school teacher is the epitomy of militancy was not confirmed by this study, though it is possible that the lack of confirmation derived from the method of data collection. Because of the advent of the "middle schools," intermediate grade elementary teachers and junior high school teachers were placed in the same category. Thus, it is possible that the lack of "militancy" may be accounted for by the influence of the scores of elementary teachers.

In any case, it was the teachers with more than seven years of experience who perceived the contract as influencing and restricting the principal's individual ability to operate but not to the same degree as it restricted his ability to allow them freedom to operate. This, in general, came to represent a pro-union viewpoint -- restrict the principal but not the teacher. If we can assume that age (which was not significantly related to perception of the contract) has a high correlation with years of experience, then it would appear that the stereotype of the young militant "new breed" of teacher did not emerge in this study.

Two complimentary interpretations may offer some explanation of this lack of early militancy. Most teachers who have taught in Urban District for less than seven years have either never taught in a situation other than one in which a union contract was in force, or else they have worked so briefly in a "no contact" situation that they are unaware of the overall ramifications of a union contract. Not having experienced teacher-principal interactions prior to the contract, it would seem likely that they could not apprehend the full impact of the union contract on the principals' behavior.

The second explanation is more indirect but still germane. Recently, a national labor union figure lamented the fact that the labor movement held little attraction for young adults in America. He stated that young adults have lived only in an affluent society and, therefore, the traditional ideology and purpose of the labor movement cannot be understood by them. The application of this statement to teachers as employees, seems reasonable.

It seems clear that the individual characteristics of the professional staff (both teachers and principals) that were identified as influencing their perception of the union contract are aspects of but a single process. Parents place of birth, religion, father's occupation, and years of teaching experience are all elements of the same phenomenon, the socialization process.

For example, when the variable of years of experience was combined with the variable of father's occupation, the scores of teachers with more than 16 years experience and a white collar background were similar to the scores of teachers with blue collar backgrounds and less than seven years experience. However, teachers with more than 16 years experience and from white collar backgrounds perceived the contract as less restrictive when contrasted with their blue collar counterparts who viewed the contract as more restrictive. The research on socialization and social class difference gives support to these findings. The evidence is abundant that prior to World War II persons coming from blue collar families were oriented towards viewing authority with distrust -- when we add the variable of parents place of birth, we can visualize the almost stereotyped situation of the slum dwelling labor oriented immigrant family caught up in the social ferment of the Depression -- while those coming from white collar families were taught compliance to authority.

The key point here is the period in which the individual grew up. Thus, recent studies have shown that since the post-war years, the differences in socialization patterns between blue and white collar families have all but disappeared. Again, the closeness of mean scores between blue and white collar teachers in this study with less than seven years experience is in line with the findings of the recent studies.

Religion as significant variable in this complex is more difficult to account for. It has already been noted that 75 percent of those who responded to the question of religious preferences were Jewish. The traditional European Jewish (Orthodox) and Catholic family structures were patriarchal; authority of the male elders was unquestioned. (This fact has perhaps become obscured by the popular literature on Jewish and Italian mothers.) The authority relationship was also reflected in the respective religious institutions of the two groups. It would follow then that persons coming out of such a socialization environment would respond positively to authority figures, especially males. In our questionnaire, this was true for Catholics but not for Jews.

The differences between religious preference categories might be accounted for within the "traditional-emergent" value continuum. Without assuming to place every Christian or each Jew at the mean of his religious reference group, it appears likely that as a group Jews have tended more toward an emergent or "liberal" value orientation than have those Christians who tend to hold the Protestant ethic. In our data, both Catholics and Protestants saw the union contract as less restrictive (in our terms, less favorable to the union) than did Jews. It is suggested here that the value tendencies of the groups may account for these differences. Regardless of the validity of this explanation, the difference exists.

In sum, as predicted, the teachers in Urban District perceive the contract quite differently than principals perceive it. In the factor analyses, almost every positive loading for teachers resulted in an equivalent but negative loading for principals. The hypothesis that principals and teachers perceive the contract differently was confirmed by an astronomical F ratio. It is unimportant whose perception is most coincident with reality. The fact that the wide difference exists is sufficient to cause concern. Is it possible to have positive personnel relationships between principals and teachers when the union contract is so important a factor in that relationship and perceived so differently by the two groups? Considerable attention probably should be given to narrowing this perception gap. This research has also been able to identify a few characteristics as influencing the teacher's perception of the union contract and, perhaps, his predisposition to view the principal's leadership behavior under that contract.

The major findings are these. Teachers who have been in the Urban District more than 15 years tend to view the contract as more restrictive on principals (in our terms, a favorable union result) than do teachers with less tenure. In addition, teachers with blue collar family backgrounds and those who report a Jewish religious preference also view the contract as more restrictive on principals than do teachers with a white collar background or those who indicate Christian religious preference.

It is in terms of this background that the principal must establish a leadership climate in his respective school. Without doubt the principal can count on the teachers perceiving the contract and its influence on his behavior quite differently than he himself will perceive that influence. Further, each school will have a variety of teachers with a variety of perceptions.

In this context the principal must decide how to administer the By-laws of the Board, their policies, and the set of rules provided for him in the union contract. When, under what conditions, and how frequently shall he use punishment-centered, representative, or mock patterns? No set formula is provided here. Clear guidelines are provided by the model tested in the field study.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research was undertaken to discover the effect of the union contract upon the leadership behavior of the urban principal. A sociological model developed by Gouldner was used to account for teacher-principal relationships.

Briefly, it was hypothesized that:

1. Mock rule administration would develop positive sentiment and no tension.
2. Representative rule administration would develop little tension but considerable positive sentiment.
3. Punishment-centered rule administration would result in high tension and hostility.

Other hypotheses were generated from this basic model.

A field study was undertaken to test the model. Two groups of schools were identified, each having a different type of educational leadership climate, peaceful and hostile, respectively. Each group contained one elementary, a junior high, and a senior high school. In each of these six schools, a six-week field study was undertaken. Complementary field observations were done in the Office of Staff Relations and the union office. The research model was generally supported by the data collected. Occasional modifications were made where the data provided reason for such modification.

The major factor in "warm" leadership climates and peaceful personnel relationships was the existence of representative rule patterns of administration. While representative behavior -- behavior associated with representative rule patterns of administration -- took place in schools where hostility was the general sentiment expressed between teachers and administrators, its existence was the exception rather than the role. Further, while the specific item was solved without much tension, the general climate seemed to remain one of high tension, perhaps because the organization has a memory.

In the schools with representative patterns of administration, informal paths for participation were frequently used, but the formal paths were not abandoned. This openness of formal channels appeared to be an important point. In other schools a climate of tension often was created when the administration felt that scheduled meetings were not necessary because, from its point of view, the teachers had no gripes, while teachers, on the other hand, felt that the administration failed to respond to problems of teachers. Is such a situation the fault of teacher or principal communication? No matter which -- the failure to hold required meetings with the union representatives is a mistake, even if the union fails to suggest items for the agenda.

Mock patterns of rule administration were observed in both types of leadership climates, though there was more in the peaceful than the hostile. In both, evidence of rule breaking on the part of teachers which was aided and abetted by administration included such items as the use of school phones for personal business, smoking in certain areas of the building, allowing one person to "punch in or out" for another, ignoring the use of self-treated sick days as "personal business leave." Perhaps there are too many rules for even the most authoritarian administrator to enforce; thus even authoritarians occasionally administer in mock fashion.

When mock examples of behavior were observed in warm climates, considerable expression of positive expression about the act was also observed. In hostile climates, however, the sentiment around mock behavior seemed to be, "We'll wait and see." Teachers, like other humans, have memories and their best prediction of administrative behavior is based on the usual behavior of administrators. Teachers in hostile climates seemed not to believe the act of mock behavior, or to be suspicious of it. This resulted in an attitude of, "It can't last -- wait and see."

In the field study, punishment-centered administration always created tension and usually hostility. Even in usually warm leadership climates, this was true. While punishment-centered behavior took place in warm as well as in hostile climates, this behavior (not unexpectedly) was considerably more frequent in the latter.

Briefly, two additional important aspects of rule administration emerged from the study. The use of a rule by a principal to mask his authority will reduce tension or an occurrence of a punishment-centered behavior. Also, close supervision is usually viewed by teachers as punishment-centered behavior.

It also became clear that all grievances are not personal indictments of administration. Some grievances are brought to alleviate an alleged injustice or infraction of the contract wrought by an administrator. These grievances are brought to a satisfactory conclusion when the relief sought is accomplished. On the other hand, occasionally the union is seeking to obtain a generalized rule that can be used in playing the "employee-management game." Such grievances are pursued even after individual satisfaction is obtained, until written policy is established.

Finally, it was discovered that principals and teachers perceive the contract's influence quite differently from one another. In addition, variables that can be seen as having their origins in the socialization process are the variables that account for many of the differences in perceptions within teacher and principal groups.

Recommendations

1. The most important factor in the establishment of warm principal-teacher leadership climate is the presence of representative patterns of rule administration.

   (a) Both formal as well as informal occasions of representative behavior appear necessary to avoid tension. Most often, it is the principal who administers a hostile climate who sees no need for the formal meeting.

   (b) The chapter chairman's meeting with the principal provides an important opportunity for representative behavior and tension reduction.

2. Punishment-centered behavior is to be avoided if one is to avoid tension and hostile feelings.

   (a) When punishment is necessary, the principal is well advised to: use a rule to mask his authority; provide a warning before invoking the punishment; be sure the rule and the mandate punishment is well-known and available to all teachers in writing.

(b) The close supervision of a teacher (either face-to-face or through review of written material) will be seen as punishment-centered and generate tension.

3. If at all possible, teachers shall establish the rules whose infractions are to be punished and should devise the punishment (even though it may be administered by principals).

4. Mock rule administration is probably necessary to enable the development of warm climates, but it occurs in hostile climates also. This is probably due to the number and nature of rules in a large urban district. No school can be run by mock administration alone. Thus, the difference is between the mix of representative and mock, or punishment-centered and mock behaviors. The former generates warmth and the latter tension.

5. Considerable attention should be given to the chasm that separates the perceptions of teachers and principals of the effect of the contract upon principal leadership. Is this chasm due to differences in what the two groups expect in terms of principal leadership? Perhaps teachers really do not know how the principal has been affected. Regardless of the speculations, all of which are interesting, the fact of the wide separation between the perceptions about the effect of anything as important as the union contract must be of concern to the entire school organization.

6. Finally, running a "tight ship" is not the goal of educational administration and should not be the major goal of the school

principal. Further, if it is necessary to use punishment-centered behavior in order to achieve a "tight ship," then it should be understood that tension and hostility between teachers and the school administration will result. While theoretically it is possible that a hostile climate may contribute to the goal of effective education for the children in attendance, this possibility should be put as a question not a fact. Another question is: how will a climate of hostility affect the leadership capabilities of the principal? How, in turn, will it affect the teacher-pupil relationship and learning in the school? The answers to these questions have not been sought by this research. They are important questions which need answers, however. Based on this research, a principal can determine the particular rule administration that will result in either hostile or friendly climates between himself and the teachers. The ability to determine this should prove a considerable advantage to a principal in helping him realize his educational goals and administrative philosophy.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I

1. The American Teacher, December 1965.

2. Frank W. Lutz, Lou Kleinman, and Seymour Evans, Grievances and Their Resolutions (Danville, Illinois: Interstate Printers and Publishers, 1967), p. 79.

3. Ibid., p. 80.

4. Alvin L. Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1954).

5. Raymond Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.

6. Frank W. Lutz, Lou Kleinman and Seymour Evans, Op. cit., p. 90.

7. Neil Gross and Robert E. Herriott, Staff Leadership in Public Schools (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966).

8. It should be reiterated that no inference was made that one style was "good" and that another was "bad." The data indicated only that they were different. This statement should not be construed to mean that the researchers do not harbor some values about leadership styles. But the research is not a value judgment and the researchers must and will resist the temptation to superimpose their values upon the data.

9. See Andrew Halpin, Leadership Behavior: Its Deception and Measurement (Eds.), Stogdill and Coons (Columbia: Ohio State University Bureau of Business Research #88).

10. The research team is grateful to Dr. Taylor Whittier, then Superintendent of the Philadelphia Schools, and the teachers and principals who cooperated at this stage of the study.

CHAPTER II

1. The stage-three grievances were formerly called hearings and are now called conferences. The title hearing officer is thus a vestige of the past which has not yet been changed.

CHAPTER II

2. In one case, for example, the union had decided not to pursue a grievance beyond step two. The teacher had asked for union office representation at step three and evidently had not been told that none would be supplied. The union man told the hearing officer, "I didn't want to state that the union couldn't represent the teacher." The hearing officer agreed, "I wouldn't feel too happy about that either. I have a kind of fear about prejudicing the case in advance that way." The two continued discussing the situation, and the union office representative said, "...obviously we didn't inform you that nobody was going to come." When queried about sending a representative in another pending case, the union representative stated, "No, we will not. We can't disagree with that determination at step two. We think it's correct." Both men agreed.

3. Although the people described in this report are real, the names used throughout are fictitious. Any similarity to individuals who may bear these similar names is coincidental.

4. In later private conversations it was clearly established that the union wanted to set a precedent and effect a policy clarification as a result of this grievance.

5. This process of chapter chairman-principal conference will be discussed more fully in Chapter IV.

6. It is interesting to note that our data relate a case of a principal knowingly granting sick days to two teachers in his building so that they could extend their honeymoon past a vacation period.

7. During our data collection, an attitude of many teachers was discovered which condoned the use of sick leave when a teacher was not really ill but needed a rest because he had been "on the firing line." There was a feeling that teaching in the urban situation was so arduous that it could be compared to physical combat, and produced combat fatigue. Teachers experiencing "fatigue" were entitled to a day or two off, perhaps to play golf. Union officials did not express this norm, nor did all the teachers. Enough did, however, so as to make it likely that at least part of this problem was being caused by such teachers.

8. Obviously the research team could not know if these complaints were justified. They were made in a manner that indicated that the teacher did not want to be involved in grievance proceedings.

CHAPTER II

9. This complaint seems impossible, yet it demonstrates that all teachers operating under union contracts are not sophisticated members of organized labor. In this case, the advisor set up a meeting with the particular chapter chairman.

10. This was the third complaint observed about this matter. One would guess that there was a misunderstanding about the matter between the union and the administration which would be solved. In the meantime, it was creating problems for some principals.

11. This was close to the stage of filing a complaint and a grievance, but at the time of observation remedy was being sought without formal action or official union help.

12. Although this did not occur during the observation period, it is interesting to note that at least once during difficult and intense negotiations with the Board of Education the union's secretarial staff were on strike. Even union bureaucracies have union problems.

13. While not a part of this research and not suggested by the data reported here, the authors believe that The Council of Supervisory Associations may become functionally the same type of organization for principals as the union has become for teachers. The Office of Staff Relations would then serve in a judicial role, arbitrating between the two supporting bureaucracies.

CHAPTER III

1. George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World), 1950.

2. The principal had apparently misinterpreted the contract provision governing classroom observations and follow-up conferences.

3. Supra, p. 48.

4. Supra, p. 48.

5. See smoking rule, supra, p. 58.

6. See no smoking rule, p. 58.

CHAPTER III

7. See six hour 20 minute teacher day rule, p. 79.

8. The Union Contract (Article IV A 1 a) provides that in the high schools (except for the minimum number of teachers necessary to supervise school aides and to protect the health and safety of the pupils), teachers shall be relieved of...work on a school-wide basis related to the handling, distribution, storing of books, supplies and equipment, and the duplication of teaching materials.

9. For the rules governing classroom observations see p. 21. In addition, in the Matter of Mauer, Step 3, January 29, 1965, it was ruled that the burden of proof as to whether the number of observations is excessive rests with the teacher.

10. See rules governing collection of money, p. 70.

11. See rule governing check in and check out, p. 49.

12. The Union Contract (Article IV F 14 c) provides that "Assignment of teachers to cover classes for which no per diem substitute is available shall be made on a rotation basis to the extent possible."

13. The Union Contract (Article IV F 21) provides that "As soon as possible before the termination date of this agreement [July 1, 1967], salary payment shall be made on a semi-monthly basis."

14. The Union Contract (Article V A 3) provides: that in the high schools, in the matter of teaching special, honor, modified classes, the policy of rotation of qualified persons should be followed (except for unusual circumstances, in the matters of building assignments, annex assignments, sessions, and proctorings). However, for the assignment to non-teaching positions for which there are compensatory time allowances, the Contract provides that "Such non-teaching assignments should be made on the basis of seniority in the school among teachers who are equally qualified." The Contract also provides: that the list of vacancies for non-teaching assignments be made available in sufficient time to permit all teachers to make applications; that a qualified teacher not having held such a position be given priority over those who have had such assignments, and that an applicant who does not receive the requested assignment, upon request, shall be given the reasons for not having been selected.

CHAPTER III

15. Union Contract, Article V A 1.

16. *Ibid*.

CHAPTER IV

1. It is interesting to observe that even when positive sentiments are being expressed, teachers perceive themselves as a group (we) separate from administrators (they).

CHAPTER V

1. Here again, as with the factor of experience outside the district, the total number was so small that it proved meaningless for the purpose of analysis and was dropped from analysis.

APPENDIX A

CENTER FOR URBAN EDUCATION

Opinionnaire

Teacher

Under the Union Contract:

	SA	A	NO	D	SD
1. I feel that my principal has less flexibility in assigning teachers to classes.					
2. I feel staff members now make more suggestions which are helpful in improving instructions.					
3. I feel my principal is less able to work toward the implementation of change in teaching procedures.					
4. I feel the principal is able to provide more ways for teachers to communicate with other teachers about their teaching activities.					
5. I feel my principal's evaluation of teachers is no longer based on the improvement of instruction.					
6. I feel my principal is less able to recognize individual teachers for jobs well done.					
7. I feel my principal is better able to provide special resources and materials for the teacher.					
8. I feel the principal is better able to support the teacher in his relationship with children and parents.					
9. I feel my principal is less able to involve the staff in the improvement of instruction.					
10. I feel my principal is less able to encourage teachers to give additional time to children.					

	SA	A	NO	D	SD
11. I feel my principal is better able to help a teacher with her professional problems.					
12. I feel my principal is less able to reinforce the positive aspects of a teacher's work.					
13. I feel there is less opportunity for my principal to encourage teachers to innovate in the classroom.					
14. I feel the principal is less accessible to the staff than he used to be.					
15. I feel my principal is less able to accept the opinion of teachers with regard to job assignments.					
16. I feel my principal is able to introduce more educational innovations in my school.					
17. I feel my principal is more often frustrated in his desire to help teachers in the improvement of instruction.					
18. I feel my principal is becoming less familiar with the special strengths of individual teachers.					
19. I feel there is less frequent opportunity for the principal to have individual teacher-principal conferences.					
20. I feel teachers are provided fewer means of escaping various kinds of conflicting administrative requests.					
21. I feel the staff meeting provide greater opportunity for faculty participation.					
22. I feel it is easier for my principal to provide a teacher with an opportunity to experiment with team teaching.					
23. I feel teachers no longer go to the principal with personal and/or professional problems.					

	SA	A	NO	D	SD
24. I feel my principal is less able to allow teachers' participation in policy formulation.					
25. I feel my principal is more able to encourage teachers to engage in curriculum committee work.					
26. I feel my principal has less freedom to evaluate new teaching methods and techniques.					
27. I feel principal-teacher conferences center more in the improvements of instruction.					
28. I feel principal assignment of teachers based on the educational needs of the pupils is more easily achieved.					
29. I feel it is easier for my principal to provide ways for teachers to initiate ideas.					
30. I feel it is less possible for teachers in this school to introduce new ideas in their teaching plans.					
31. I feel staff meetings provide for less mutual communication.					
32. I feel my principal is more willing to accept other points of view.					
33. I feel my principal is less able to provide opportunities for teachers to transmit suggestions, comments, and opinions regarding the teaching function.					
34. I feel my principal is less able to suggest new educational ideas to teachers.					
35. I feel my principal is seldom able to make suggestions to improve teaching that are based on a recent personal observation.					

	SA	A	NO	D	SD
36. I feel it is easier for my principal to deal with complaints of teachers about his subordinate administrators interfering in our teaching tasks.					
37. I feel my principal is less disposed to support teachers who are criticized by irate parents.					
38. I feel it is more difficult for my principal to deal with complaints of teachers about central officer supervisors interference in our teaching tasks.					

CENTER FOR URBAN EDUCATION

OPINIONNAIRE

Principals

Under the Union Contract:

	SA	A	NO	D	SD
1. I feel that I have less flexibility in assigning teachers to classes.					
2. I feel staff members make more suggestions which are helpful in improving instructions.					
3. I feel I am less able to work toward the implementation of change in teaching procedures.					
4. I feel I am able to provide more ways for teachers to communicate with other teachers about their teaching activities.					
5. I feel my evaluation of teachers is no longer based on the improvement of instruction.					
6. I feel I am less able to recognize individual teachers for jobs well done.					
7. I feel I am better able to provide special resources and materials for the teacher.					
8. I feel I am better able to support the teacher in his relationship with children and parents.					
9. I feel I am less able to involve the staff in the improvement of instruction.					
10. I feel I am less able to encourage teachers to give additional time to children.					
11. I feel I am better able to help a teacher with her professional problems.					
12. I feel I am less able to reinforce the positive aspects of a teacher's work.					

	SA	A	NO	D	SD
13. I feel there is less opportunity to encourage teachers to innovate in the classroom.					
14. I feel I am less accessible to the staff than I used to be.					
15. I feel I am less able to accept the opinion of teachers with regard to job assignments.					
16. I feel I am able to introduce more educational innovations in my school.					
17. I feel I am more often frustrated in my desire to help teachers in the improvement of instruction.					
18. I feel I am becoming less familiar with the special strengths of individual teachers.					
19. I feel there is less frequent opportunity to have individual teacher-principal conferences.					
20. I feel teachers are provided fewer means of escaping various kinds of conflicting administrative requests.					
21. I feel the staff meetings provide greater opportunity for faculty participation.					
22. I feel it is easier for me to provide a teacher with the opportunity to experiment with team teaching.					
23. I feel teachers no longer come to me with personal and/or professional problems.					
24. I feel I am less able to allow teachers' participation in policy formulation.					
25. I feel I am more able to encourage teachers to engage in curriculum committee work.					
26. I feel I have less freedom to evaluate new teaching methods and techniques.					

	SA	A	NO	D	SD
27. I feel principal-teacher conferences center more on the improvement of instruction.					
28. I feel principal assignment of teachers based on the educational needs of the pupils is more easily achieved.					
29. I feel it is easier for me to provide ways for teachers to initiate ideas.					
30. I feel it is less possible for teachers in this school to introduce new ideas in their teaching plans.					
31. I feel staff meetings provide for less mutual communication.					
32. I feel I am more willing to accept other points of view.					
33. I feel I am less able to provide opportunities for teachers to transmit suggestions, comments, and opinions regarding the teaching function.					
34. I feel I am less able to suggest new educational ideas to teachers.					
35. I feel I am seldom able to make suggestions to improve teaching that are based on a recent personal observation.					
36. I feel it is easier to deal with complaints of teachers about my subordinate administrators interfering in their teaching tasks.					
37. I am less disposed to support teachers who are criticized by irate parents.					
38. I feel it is more difficult to deal with complaints of teachers about central office supervisors interference with their teaching tasks.					

APPENDIX B

FACTOR LOADINGS FOR PRINCIPAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Under the Union Contract:

	Factor I	Factor II
1. I feel that I have less flexibility in assigning teachers to classes.	.55	
2. I feel staff members make more suggestions which are helpful in improving instructions.		-.49
3. I feel I am less able to work toward the implementation of change in teaching procedures.	.62	
4. I feel I am able to provide more ways for teachers to communicate with other teachers about their teaching activities.		.50
5. I feel my evaluation of teachers is no longer based on the improvement of instruction.		.48
6. I feel I am less able to recognize individual teachers for jobs well done.	.53	
7. I feel I am better able to provide special resources and materials for the teacher.		.56
8. I feel I am better able to support the teacher in his relationship with children and parents.		.52
9. I feel I am less able to involve the staff in the improvement of instruction.		.52
10. I feel I am less able to encourage teachers to give additional time to children.	.57	
11. I feel I am better able to help a teacher with her professional problems.	-.35	
12. I feel I am less able to reinforce the positive aspects of a teacher's work.		.48
13. I feel there is less opportunity to encourage teachers to innovate in the classroom.		.57
14. I feel I am less accessible to the staff than I used to be.	.44	
15. I feel I am less able to accept the opinion of teachers with regard to job assignments.		.64

	Factor I	Factor II
16. I feel I am able to introduce more educational innovations in my school.	.50	
17. I feel I am more often frustrated in my desire to help teachers in the improvement of instruction.	.69	
18. I feel I am becoming less familiar with the special strength of individual teachers.	.46	
19. I feel there is less frequent opportunity to have individual teacher-principal conferences.	.38	
20. I feel teachers are provided fewer means of escaping various kinds of conflicting administrative requests.		.57
21. I feel the staff meetings provide greater opportunity for faculty participation.	.62	
22. I feel it is easier for me to provide a teacher with the opportunity to experiment with team teaching.	.61	
23. I feel teachers no longer come to me with personal and/or professional problems.	.59	
24. I feel I am less able to allow teachers' participation in policy formulation.		.29
25. I feel I am more able to encourage teachers to engage in curriculum committee work.		.55
26. I feel I have less freedom to evaluate new teaching methods and techniques.		.60
27. I feel principal-teacher conferences center more on the improvement of instruction.	.46	
28. I feel principal assignment of teachers based on the educational needs of the pupils is more easily achieved.	.54	
29. I feel it is easier for me to provide ways for teachers in initiate ideas.		.43

	Factor I	Factor II
30. I feel it is less possible for teachers in this school to introduce new ideas in their teaching plans.	.63	
31. I feel staff meetings provide for less mutual communication.	.55	

FACTOR LOADINGS FOR TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

Under the Union Contract:

	Factor I	Factor II
1. I feel that my principal has less flexibility in assigning teachers to classes.	.52	
2. I feel staff members now make more suggestions which are helpful in improving instructions.		.56
3. I feel my principal is less able to work toward the implementation of change in teaching procedures.	.63	
4. I feel the principal is able to provide more ways for teachers to communicate with other teachers about their teaching activities.		.45
5. I feel my principal's evaluation of teachers is no longer based on the improvement of instruction.	-.63	
6. I feel my principal is less able to recognize individual teachers for jobs well done.	.72	
7. I feel my principal is better able to provide special resources and materials for the teacher.	-.52	
8. I feel the principal is better able to support the teacher in his relationship with children and parents.		.48
9. I feel my principal is less able to involve the staff in the improvement of instruction.		.57
10. I feel my principal is less able to encourage teachers to give additional time to children.	.55	
11. I feel my principal is better able to help a teacher with her professional problems.	-.58	
12. I feel my principal is less able to reinforce the positive aspects of a teacher's work.	-.48	
13. I feel there is less opportunity for my principal to encourage teachers to innovate in the classroom.	-.54	

	Factor I	Factor II
14. I feel the principal is less accessible to the staff than he used to be.	.60	
15. I feel my principal is less able to accept the opinion of teachers with regard to job assignments.		.54
16. I feel my principal is able to introduce more educational innovations in my school.	.64	
17. I feel my principal is more often frustrated in his desire to help teachers in the improvement of instruction.	.46	
18. I feel my principal is becoming less familiar with the special strengths of individual teachers.	.53	
19. I feel there is less frequent opportunity for the principal to have individual teacher-principal conferences.	.60	
20. I feel teachers are provided fewer means of escaping various kinds of conflicting administrative requests.	.63	
21. I feel the staff meetings provide greater opportunity for faculty participation.	.70	
22. I feel it is easier for my principal to provide a teacher with an opportunity to experiment with team teaching.	.70	
23. I feel teachers no longer go to the principal with personal and/or professional problems.	.58	
24. I feel my principal is less able to allow teachers' participation in policy formulation.	.51	
25. I feel my principal is more able to encourage teachers to engage in curriculum committee work.	-.56	
26. I feel my principal has less freedom to evaluate new teaching methods and techniques.	-.53	

		Factor I	Factor II
27.	I feel principal-teacher conferences center more in the improvements of instruction.	-.59	
28.	I feel principal assignment of teachers based on the educational needs of the pupils is more easily achieved.	-.74	
29.	I feel it is easier for my principal to provide ways for teachers to initiate ideas.		.63
30.	I feel it is less possible for teachers in this school to introduce new ideas in their teaching plans.	.65	
31.	I feel staff meetings provide for less mutual communication.	.62	
32.	I feel my principal is more willing to accept other points of view.		.52
33.	I feel my principal is less able to provide opportunities for teachers to transmit suggestions, comments, and opinions regarding the teaching function.	-.62	
34.	I feel my principal is less able to suggest new educational ideas to teachers.	.63	
35.	I feel my principal is seldom able to make suggestions to improve teaching that are based on a recent personal observation.	.60	
36.	I feel it is easier for my principal to deal with complaints of teachers about his subordinate administrators interferring in our teaching tasks.		.50
37.	I feel my principal is less disposed to support teachers who are criticized by irate parents.	.45	
38.	I feel it is more difficult for my principal to deal with complaints of teachers about central office supervisors interference in our teaching tasks		.49

APPENDIX C

CENTER FOR URBAN EDUCATION
33 West 42nd Street
New York, New York 10036

Dear Educator:

We have undertaken a study of principal leadership behavior in the New York City schools. This study has the approval of both the Board of Education and the United Federation of Teachers. Both are cooperating in order to study this important aspect of urban education in our city. Both the Board and the Union have reviewed and approved the dissemination of the enclosed questionnaire. We urge your professional cooperation in filling out and returning this questionnaire. As we have the interest and cooperation of both the Board and the organization officially recognized to represent teachers, there is every hope that this study will provide meaningful guidelines for future action.

The study is not evaluative but descriptive. It seeks to discover how leadership can be exercised to profit the education of children. In no way can you be identified as an individual. Please do not put your name on the questionnaire. Even your school cannot be identified. If you have any questions, please contact Professor Frank W. Lutz of New York University who is directing the study.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Nathan Brown
Assistant Director

PERSONAL DATA SHEET

Please do not put your name on any part of this questionnaire!

The following checklist will allow classification of responses of data gathered in this research project. You will note that in no way are you to be identified as an individual (either by school, code or name). This is because we are interested only in the data. It is essential that we be able to group these data in categories which may have theoretical meaning. We therefore request that you fill out this personal data sheet as accurately as possible.

- - - - - - - - - - - -

1. Age _______
2. Marital Status: single ______ widowed ______
   married ______ divorced ______
3. Sex: Male ______ Female ______
4. Spouse's Occupation: ________________________________
5. Grade level at which you are now working:
   Elementary _____ Intermediate _____
   Junior High _____ High School _____
6. Subject area in which you are now working _______________
7. Certificate under which you are now working _______________
8. Number of years experience: (total teaching and administration)
   In New York City System _____ All other systems _____
9. In which of the following types of communities did you live while growing up? (until 18 years of age) For how long? (Indicate number of years in blank)
   - a. rural area _____ yrs.
   - b. village (less than 10,000) _____ yrs.
   - c. small city (10,000-50,000) _____ yrs.
   - d. large city (50,000-1 mil.) _____ yrs.
   - e. suburban area _____ yrs.
   - f. metropolitan (over 1 mil.) _____ yrs.
10. Colleges attended: Name Location Degree

____

____

____

11. Place of parents' birth: Mother ______________________________

Father ______________________________

12. Father's Occupation ____

13. Mother's Occupation ____

14. Grandparents' place of birth: Grandmother ____________________

Grandfather ____________________

15. Religious preferences (optional):

Catholic ____ Protestant ____ Jewish ____ None ____ Other ____

APPENDIX D

RESEARCH STAFF

Major Investigator:	Frank W. Lutz, New York University
Co-Investigators:	Seymour Evans, New York University Harold J. Robbins, Queens College, City University of New York, New York City
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Ida Klaus:	Director of Personnel Relations, New York City Schools.
Albert Shanker:	President of United Federation of Teachers.
Joseph Brennan:	President of Council of Supervisory Associations New York City Schools
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